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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

GERMAN MILITARY VOLUNTEERS IN AID PROJECTS

Bonn AFRIKA-POST in German Nov-Dec 85 pp 10-12

[Article by Juergen Wahl under the "Germany-Africa" rubric: "Soldiers Who Help Instead of Shooting"; first paragraph is AFRIKA-POST introduction]

[Text] The Bundeswehr is a partner sought by African countries with a Western orientation. An inspection trip with Parliamentary Undersecretary Wuerzbach provided the opportunity to see some on-site successes.

A Bundeswehr C 160 Transall lands at the Dakar airport. It is bringing 30 soldiers, one-third of whom are draftees. The German troop has not come to shoot, has no political plans, and wants to move on quickly to Joal-Fadiouth, an hour's drive from Dakar. "We are on leave there," quips a staff sergeant.

The leave will last about 6 weeks, for by then they will have "put up the building." The "building" is a children's hospital with 15 beds and the young men have sacrificed their leave. The units, primarily from southern Germany, added some emergency leave for Africa. In addition, each volunteer had to pay DM 500 from his personal funds for food.

With the temperature 100 degrees in the shade, they build, sweat, improvise, and struggle with problems in communicating and with the technical difficulties of the project. Peter Kurt Wuerzbach, parliamentary undersecretary in the Defense Ministry, on an 8-day inspection tour visiting German soldiers in Somalia, Zaire and Senegal, discovered that they are happy in their work for the children. The German television viewer, on the other hand, has probably seldom seen images of soldiers helping in Africa, perhaps the mission of the air force for the starving in the Sudan, when Richard von Weizsaecker showed up there, something that was, in the words of a lieutenant colonel, perceived as a "wonderful sign of solidarity."

Otherwise, the FRG has heretofore kept its 50 soldiers on the Black Continent out of the public eye. "I had no idea that we have these fabulous men there," says Wuerzbach. It was not until after the turnaround in Bonn that he came upon "this matter" at Hardthoehe. His SPD predecessors had only allowed the mini-army (three to eight soldiers in each of nine countries) to operate in secret.

The 50 soldiers in the construction troop in Joal-Fadiouth are not included among the official advisers. They are merely volunteers, part of the large private Third-World aid that Wuerzbach has put into motion in the Bundeswehr. The retired educationist Otto Maier involved himself in Senegal. When he saw the plight of the children, he, along with Manfred Ulmer, honorary general consul of Senegal in Stuttgart, founded an association called "Friends of the Joal-Fadiouth Hospital" and won over Manfred Woerner and the Bundeswehr as helpers and Eberhard Muehlbacher, general vicar of the Rottenburg-Stuttgart Diocese, as an additional patron. In 2 and a half years, the "civilians" collected DM 135,000 for building materials. The Bundeswehr found the construction volunteers and the embassy in Dakar with Ambassador Norbert Lang gladly joined in.

A Decoration for a First Sergeant

When the corner stone was laid on All Saints Day, everybody in the area was in attendance. A native bishop, ambassador, imam (!), mayor, general vicar, and undersecretary from Bonn gave speeches and said prayers. Women sang for the Germans. Wuerzbach then deviated from the protocol: Sigurad Quednow, 44, first sergeant in the army aviation, became the first German soldier in Africa to receive the Federal Distinguished Service Cross. He sponsors two Sengalese children. Since he joined the Bundeswehr in 1961, he has spent his free time working with and for young people in Israel's kibbutzim, at war cemetaries in France, on the city council of Fridingen on the Danube, and as a lay assessor in the youth court.

Herman Giesselmann, now retired captain, came to Somalia in November 1965, 20 years before Quednow. One officer and three noncommissioned officers, the first German soldiers since the last war to be sent to Africa, carried no weapons. They advised the Somali police, built an automotive workshop under extremely unfavorable conditions, and trained Somalis. Now the veterans were with Wuerzbach at the 20th-anniversary celebration. It began on a tropical evening when Somali police officers and Giesselman-veterans embraced one another at the Mogadishu airport saying: "Do you remember...."

The Germans enjoy a great reputation in Somalia and after the legendary freeing of the hostages not just GSG 9 is known even in the villages. The small eight-man Bundeswehr group has contributed to the stabilization of the government of Gen and President Siad Barre. The group also stayed during the "Soviet period" with its KGB intrigues, was later strengthened and now also works with German advisers from the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Ministerial director Rolf Schaefer is satisfied: "The Somalis are adopting our sound methods of criminal investigation and their police no longer depend on their cudgels alone."

The hard work of the advisers in Somalia is producing some problems. All of the men except one live in Mogadishu their wives and in part with their children. Some children attend school in Nairobi, 1 hour away by air. Wuerzbach listened to the concerns of the soldiers and promised help here and there. Wuerzbach's companion from Genscher's Ministry of Foreign Affairs nodded understandingly when the conversation turned to the administrative

bureaucrats back home who are unable to understand the problems of African existence.

When Siad Barre receives the German delegation late one evening in his rather modest residence, world politics enters the room brutally. What German foreign policy plays down with "supply aid" (fearing the term "equipment aid"), Siad Barre sees as the first step to weapons aid. Wuerzbach brings him down to earth. That is not included, it is not the Bonn line. The general softly describes how Ethiopian pilots trained by Cubans come and bomb Somali villages. Wuerzbach describes what the (West) Germans are now able to do within the scope of Western aid: no weapons but supply aid and training. Not with weapons! Later, in Zaire, the American Air Force attache calls this a "foolish position" and his colleague from Beijing nods in agreement.

Kisshasa is luxurious in comparison with Somalia and the eight men of giant Lt Col Hans-Joachim Valentin wear tropical combat uniforms (French) with insignia of rank. In Somalia, they wore no insignia. The Bundeswehr advises only 9,000 police there. In Zaire, on the other hand, the 60,000-man army of the difficult chief of state Mobutu is a direct partner. Wuerzbach signed a new agreement on "supply aid" and Army Gen Likulua Bolongo raved about Valentin's troops: "Since your people arrived...."

Measured against their small number, it is incomprehensible what these people accomplish. They rehabilitated three completely run-down hospitals and a single medical sergeant now controls them: "unannounced, four times a year." One of them is in Kitona, in the delta of the Zaire River. There Wuerzbach listened to complaints about the water supply. A German oil-drilling team could put in wells for DM 150,000 but now one must fight for money in Bonn. Valentin's communications people are setting up a communications network over the huge country. With 185 radio sets and 3 listening posts, Mobutu's mini-army is supposed to be able to control disturbances on the long borders more quickly than before. Along with those of Mercedes, Valentin's workshops are the best in the country.

The entire Western military world as well as South Korea, Beijing and Japan are present in Zaire. The other officers consider Valentin to be a German military attache. Genscher has not sent a "real one." On the other hand, there is one in Cairo as well as in Khartoum. Wuerzbach is not trying to avoid conflicts with pussyfooters: "We and our allies here are stabilizing a country that has decided against the Eastern Bloc in favor of the West." To the south lies Angola, which is still attached to the Cuban-Soviet umbilical cord.

Weapons from Israel for Zaire

And the Mobutu dictatorship? There are long discussions about that with the German diplomats. Ambassador Walter Koenig was in Warsaw for several years and can differentiate. His colleagues help out: "If others were to come, the same misery of corruption would still remain. Africa is different and Mobutu has in any case done better than his predecessors."

The Federal Border Police is advising the Zairians in the organization of a civil guard, which is basically a state security group. They have a partner even more experienced than the Germans: Israelis. They fire Israeli weapons. Here too, the Germans are keeping their distance from the weapons business.

In Senegal, there are no advisers, "only" the construction team in Joal-Fadiouth through December. Armed Forces Minister Andre Sonko overlooked that and came to the point with Wuerzbach. Could one not....? No, Bonn has no more money in the budget. Poor Sonko was thinking about weapons aid. But there is France for that.

Soldiers Drill for Water

Five German soldiers, including one air force chief master sergeant, are working in Djibouti as "music advisers." Four soldiers in Mali train on engineering machines and serve as driving instructors. In Niger, there are plans to drill for water with the Red Cross. When this became known in Bonn, some people on the Left broke out in hysteria: if soldiers drill for water, "uranium must also be involved." Head births in the Rhineland province.

Technical troops are involved in the Sudan, engineering machines and trucks in Ruanda, and the three lonely soldiers in Togo deal with similar problems. In 1984, 35 countries, of which the 9 "Bundeswehr-countries" in Africa are only a small part, received DM 47 million in aid.

When everything began in 1965, Ludwig Erhard of the CDU was governing. The Defense Ministry /alone/ was responsible for the advisers and it financed them as well. Then came Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and the supply help became, as the official documents read, his "instrument for German foreign policy." Was it not already?

Since that time, the Foreign Ministry has collected requests and, in accordance with the circumstances, allowed the Bundeswehr, Border Police or the Federal Criminal Police Bureau to carry out the projects, harmoniously of course.... Above all the social liberals saw to it that there was not much said about the German soldiers in the Third World. They did not fit into Bonn's picture of detente.

General Duale in Somalia found specific words to remember them: "If you had not been here with your soldiers, then we would not have had any confidence when it came to letting the GSG 9 into the country to free the "Landshut" hostages. What was the name of the civilian "hero of Mogadishu"? Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, SPD. Helmut Schmidt and he may have seen the Arica help realistically but the circumstances of the coalition were not that way. A little more Western integrity would help. What would it hurt, then, for the FRG to recognize in Africa as well that it helps to keep the peace when it puts friends in a position to deter enemies credibly?"

9746
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ANGOLA

ROBERTO DE ALMEIDA ON IMPORTANCE OF SECOND CONGRESS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] N'Dalatando--Quite recently, the secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA Labor Party for the Ideological Realm, Roberto de Almeida, underscored the importance of the party's Second Congress, to be held this coming December in the nation's capital; considering it an event that will put in perspective future activities on all levels for the next 5-year period, with a view toward an improved equating of the Angolan people's problems.

The leader, who talked with ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] in an exclusive interview, said that, apart from the fact that the Second Congress will expand the party's Central Committee and elect its chairman, it will also make a thorough assessment of all the national activity carried out since the first Special Congress, held in 1980.

The secretary for the ideological realm remarked that the current politico-military situation being experienced by the country, based on imperialist aggressiveness, will also be given a detailed analysis by the congress members, to adopt new perspectives in that area.

Roberto de Almeida noted that, for all these reasons, the party's Second Congress holds considerable significance for the Angolan people; because everyone is harboring hopes for the success that will be lent to the forum by the participation of the entire militant masses.

The reinforcement of the party's leadership role is an issue of considerable importance, and is regarded as a deciding factor in the revolutionary context that is under way in the country, particularly for the victory of the socialist revolution. In this regard, the party secretary claimed that, "For a country such as ours, which is starting to sail along the socialist route, after so many years of submission to the colonial game, great importance is assumed by the existence of a political organization which gathers together all those patriots who are aware that our path to development must be socialism, as well as all those who are convinced of the righteousness of the Marxist-Leninist political line which the MPLA-Labor Party has been pursuing.

"It is from this standpoint that we say that it must be the party that leads the nation, whether in the political, economic, social or cultural areas";

adding that, for this purpose, all the action taken by the party's members must be based exactly on the reinforcement of this guiding role that the MPLA-Labor Party is required to assume. He urged the militant masses to contribute decisively, through the daily practice of the leadership role, to the party's strengthening, cohesion and prestige.

When called upon to comment on the problems involving cadres, an extremely important factor for the country's socioeconomic development, the party leader stressed the efforts undertaken by the MPLA-Labor Party to train capable cadres geared to the revolutionary process that is under way in the People's Republic of Angola; a policy that is being materialized with the aid of several friendly nations.

The leader explained: "It is not enough for us to have cadres. We need cadres adapted to the socialist revolution which we are creating. We are primarily concerned that they lend their assistance where it is most needed."

The social composition of the party in Kwanza-Norte Province and also in the country was discussed by the secretary for the ideological realm, who claimed that it consists mainly of a mass of peasants, reflecting the country's industrial underdevelopment; and hence the workers still constitute a minority.

According to Roberto de Almeida, this fact is no obstacle, because the majority of the Angolan people are peasants, as everyone knows. The secretary said that the MPLA-Labor Party is a party with a Marxist-Leninist base, and all the driving force of the Angolan revolution lies precisely in the worker-peasant alliance.

Invited to outline the reasons for the slight degree of fulfillment of the instructions emanating from the nation's maximum organ, on behalf of national reconstruction, that leader explained that this situation has occurred all over the country, and not just in Kwanza-Norte. He went on to say that, nevertheless, the fact is that not everything can be blamed on the politico-military situation that the country has undergone since it attained independence; since there are other factors of an objective type which have affected the non-fulfillment of the programs devised.

However, he noted that, at the party's national conference held last January, and also at the MPLA-Labor Party's Special Congress, it was found that there was a certain amount of exaggeration in the planning and the goals advocated, without taking the available facilities into consideration.

Roberto de Almeida commented: "There are also other problems to be analyzed in detail, and checking of the work capacity that we can achieve with the existing conditions, and any other factors that might intervene in our productive process."

The party's secretary for the ideological realm attested to the presence of several tendencies to which this lack of fulfillment may be attributed, and

concluded that the lack of raw materials, and of technical and transportation facilities, as well as the politico-military situation, do not, however, fully justify such occurrences.

The lack of initiatives, and failure to make rational use of the local installed capacities and resources, without waiting for this or that equipment to be sent from other parts of the country or from abroad were acknowledged as preeminent factors in the under-fulfillment of the goals determined on the higher levels.

He also expressed gratification with certain localities and regions of the country which are engaged in various activities based on the innovative capacities that their officials have adopted locally. "This is a great accomplishment," claimed the Angolan leader at the conclusion of the interview.

2909

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ANGOLA

MPLA'S FUTURE PROSPECTS EXAMINED

Lisbon **DIARIO DE NOTICIAS** in Portuguese 8 Dec 85 p 8

[Editorial article: "MPLA: The Next 5 Years"]

[Text] This Second MPLA Congress just held in Luanda must be divided into two different phases, one complementing the other. In the first, there was the criticism--or rather, the severe and clear self-criticism, it must be admitted --of the failure that characterized the performance of officials at all levels throughout the 5-year period from 1980 to 1985. The second debated the plan to enable the country to emerge from the crisis in which it is submerged--even bordering on chaos--during the next 5-year period and to enter the nineties finally in a condition to move forward.

It was a congress far removed from the triumphalism and euphoria that surrounded all of the first. How far gone are the times when colonialism and imperialism could still serve as the shield and alibi to justify everything bad that befell the country and the people of Angola. For the first time and in a salutarily realistic manner, it is openly stated that "the war by itself should not be regarded as the only factor responsible for the current situation of stagnation of the national economy or even the palliative for all inadequacies."

The development plan, which constituted the main topic of the meeting, draws a more than somber picture of the country's economy and indicates as the main factors responsible for the whole debacle that has occurred, the inadequacies of policies and projections, inexperience, noncompliance of duties, incompetence and corruption--in short, bad management. That is true from fisheries to agriculture, livestock-raising and forestry--the country's basic resources--transportation, water and mineral resources, and including the health, education and social sectors. In a word: the assessment now made during this second congress of the government party really could not be more negative.

Be that as it may, the plan presented as the main topic on the agenda of the meeting did not limit itself to enumerating the errors and analyzing their causes. It also presented a set of basic ideas to be developed in the next 5-year period which begins on 1 January. Topping them as a point of departure, "without which nothing can be done" in the opinion of its drafters,

is the urgent need to train cadres who will be capable of filling, with efficiency, competence and a perfect concept of responsibility, the vacuum in which all of the country's productive sector has operated in recent years; all of this based on strict austerity.

In general terms, this is the challenge that the MPLA is issuing to itself for the next 5 years. Everything indicates, and as one should conclude from the harsh criticism heard during the congress, the MPLA is doing so with the exact idea that it is staking its own future; in other words, the survival of the regime installed in Luanda, which for a long time Savimbi has been patiently waiting to come apart from within and to fall by itself more than by the force of arms.

The great unknown now lies in learning to what point President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will be really capable of (re)activating the party he inherited from Agostinho Neto and mobilizing the people for the great tasks which those decisive 5 years will impose; and, furthermore, with whose help?

8711/12951
CSO: 3442/91

ANGOLA

COLUMNIST COMMENTS ON MPLA CONGRESS

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 6-12 Dec 85 p 38

[Article by Costa Carneiro]

[Text] The proceedings of the Second Congress of the MPLA-Labor Party began in Luanda last Monday in an atmosphere of great expectation with the participation of 700 delegates representing, 3,500 party members.

The MPLA, which attaches the greatest importance to that congress, invited 50 foreign delegations, two of which were headed by their respective chiefs of state: Samora Machel (Mozambique) and Denis Sassou-Nguesso (Congo-Brazzaville).

With the conclusion of the proceedings, which coincide with the opening of the commemorative program of the anniversaries of the establishment of the movement and the party, radical changes are going to be made in the MPLA's current practice, which has generated misunderstandings and is responsible for "national economic stagnation and numerous shortcomings that hamper the most varied aspects of the country's development." Moreover, this position is supported by the technocrats and young party cadres and, from all indications, has the blessing of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Among those changes are "putting an end to the exclusiveness of the dispute between two groups formed a long time ago" based on solidarities of various kinds, prominent among them being the one formed at the time of the difficult days of the guerrilla war and aggravated, according to well-informed sources, by the various absurd policies that emerged with the coming to power of the MPLA.

According to directives from the cadres conference held early this year, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos appears to be bent on extending political participation to younger areas within the party, their dynamism and experience acquired in recent years granting them the moral authority to demand a more pronounced participation in the political life of the country.

On the other hand, according to our information, the Central Committee should emerge from this congress enlarged in the number of its members with the inclusion of other people capable of lending that important organ much more

active and consistent action, capable of attenuating the "traditional dispute" among the groups and solidarities that have always been active within it.

Thus, everything indicates, and that has already been recognized, that Jose Eduardo dos Santos' position will emerge reinforced from this congress, "benefiting from the introduction of a new political practice based more on the movement and open discussion than on historically irreducible positions."

African affairs specialists are also of the opinion that from this second congress one should also expect a certain lightening of the ideological baggage in the conduct of public business. "Today one already sees an improvement in public services and in the management of the public enterprise sector, a reflection of a discreet but effective offensive against ingrained systems of corruption, which has opened the way for a real influence by patriotic technicians who detached themselves from politics some years ago."

The new strategy can lead to an understanding with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, which would remove one of the Reagan administration's pressure points and, consequently, the possibility of imposing conditions that may counterbalance the positions assumed for a long time by Angola, both as regards its internal domestic life and its defense of the Namibia issue.

The talks recently held in Lusaka between Angolans and Americans appear to have emphasized this aspect of the problem, which reportedly led Chester Croker to count his trip to Zambia and the negotiations held there as another "no-match."

Furthermore, there are those who ask themselves if the American foot-dragging in aid to UNITA is not waiting for the results from the Zambian capital.

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ANGOLA

OFFICIAL DESCRIBES BPV ACTIVITIES IN BIE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Nov 85 p 3

[Text] Kuito--The new facilities of the party's Municipal Committee in Kuito were opened on 11 November by the coordinator of the party's Provincial Committee in Bie, Lt Col Marques Monakapui Bassovava.

On this occasion, the guests visited the premises of the party's Municipal Committee in Kuito, receiving explanations from the coordinator of the party's Municipal Committee, Pais Figueiredo, concerning the completion of the projects in their various phases.

Also in connection with the 11 November celebrations, a solidarity meeting was held with the Cuban and Vietnamese internationalists and those from the People's Republic of the Congo, in which local party and government officials and those from the mass and social organizations, as well as guests, also participated.

Evaluation of BPV Activities

The vigilance brigades in Bie Province currently have over 100,000 brigade members recruited into 294 brigades, with 205 intermediate directorates and three elementary schools for training basic cadres, ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] was told by their provincial coordinator, Albino Chiaale.

Albino Chiaale said that this recruitment is due to the explanations given at an assembly and at seminars sponsored by that organization.

That provincial leader of the BPV [People's Vigilance Brigades] in Bie noted, moreover, that, during their 2 years in existence, the People's Vigilance Brigades have engaged in various activities associated with the organization's internal life, namely, the voluntary, free donation of blood, in addition to cooperation with the defense and security agencies and with the mass and social organizations.

Basic Political Course for Party Youth Members

The first basic political course for members of the JMPLA-Party Youth of Bie has been under way in this town since Monday.

The course will last 3 months, and 37 students, including members of the JMPLA-Party Youth, cadres and officials from the provincial and municipal secretariats of that organization will take part in the classes.

ANGOLA

HEALTH CENTERS, BPV MEMBERSHIP IN CABINDA DISCUSSED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Nov 85 p 3

[Excerpts] Cabinda--The provincial delegation of Cabinda for health opened a health center and an external pharmacy on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of national independence.

The hospital units now opened received the names Lombe-Lombe Health Center and 11 November External Pharmacy.

The health center includes sections for dentistry and child rearing, a small clinical analysis laboratory, an internal pharmacy, two consulting offices and two treatment rooms.

It should be noted that, as part of the plan for health coverage in the province, in the near future it is planned to open more health centers in the headquarters municipality and in others.

Vigilance Brigades

On Wednesday, in this city, a lecture on "the importance of 13 September" will take place as part of the celebrations marking the second anniversary of the People's Vigilance Brigades [BPV].

The provincial coordinator of the People's Vigilance Brigades, Paulo Samimuai, gave a brief account of the BPV activities during their 2 years of existence.

Cabinda Province has 33 brigades, comprised of 18,239 brigade members.

2909
CSO: 3442/96

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

FOOD SHORTAGE IN REFUGEE CAMP--Government is making arrangements to send more relief supplies to Maheba Refugee Camp in Solwezi where 13,000 settlers are said to be starving because of food shortage. Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Frederick Chomba, said yesterday that the government would ensure no lives were lost as a result of the food shortage which had been caused by haphazard distribution. "The food is there, but there has just been an anomaly in the distribution," he said. According to reports from Solwezi yesterday, more than 13,000 refugees at Maheba may starve to death because the camp has exhausted its food supplies. Maheba Refugee Camp has in the past week been flooded by new arrivals who trekked from neighbouring Angola. The food shortage had reached such a state that nearby villagers had come to the aid of the refugees with their meagre food supplies to alleviate the crisis. A camp spokesman said yesterday that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was aware of the plight of the refugees who fled into Zambia to escape fighting between UNITA rebels and government troops in Angola. [Text] [Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 21 Jan 86 p 1] /12851

CSO: 3400/1027

BOTSWANA

BRIEFS

DIAMOND INDUSTRY RECOVERY--Gaborone--Botswana's diamond industry made a strong recovery last year with gross earnings almost doubling from 55'm pula (about R680m) to 943m pula (about R1,16bn). Anglo American resident director in Botswana Louis Nchindo attributed the rise in earnings to improved world demand, particularly in Western Europe, the US and Japan. The weakening of the US dollar against other currencies also contributed to the current favourable trend, he said.
[Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Jan 86 p 9] /12851

TRADE SURPLUS--Gaborone--For the first time in its history, Botswana last year generated a trade surplus balance, thus joining the select few African countries which earn more for exports than they spend on imports. The latest customs and excise reports show that Botswana paid R1,346 million for imports in 1985 and earned R1,599 million from exports -- a comfortable R243 million surplus. In 1984, imports ran at R1,070 million, while exports generated R1,027 million. The more than 55 percent increase in exports between 1984 and 1985 has been ascribed to diamonds, meat and copper-nickel. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 22 Jan 86 p 8] /12851

CSO: 3400/1027

CAPE VERDE

CONSUL GENERAL IN BOSTON DISCUSSES EMIGRANTS' ROLE

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 2 Oct 85 p 3

[Interview with Alirio Vicente Silva, Consul General of Cape Verde in Boston; date nor specific]

[Text] In order to maintain contact with the government officials of the country, the consul general of the Republic of Cape Verde in Boston, U.S.A., Alirio Vicente Silva, has been in the beach city since the 25th of last month. Thus, the VOZ DI POVO did not want to miss the opportunity of this diplomat's stay with us for a brief conversation about the activities of the Cape Verdian communities settled in the United States.

As stated by the consul general, when one mentions Cape Verdian communities in the United States, one thinks of three categories of Cape Verdians: descendants (who are Cape Verdian Americans); Cape Verdians who have become naturalized Americans; and finally, emigrants, who are thus considered because they have only recently arrived in the United States.

According to Alirio Silva, the U.S. cities with the largest concentration of Cape Verdians are New Bedford, Pataquette, Providence, and Boston and its outskirts. In these cities, Silva continued, our compatriots hold various positions ranging from university professors to members of the local authorities to factory workers. Still others take no private occupations, namely law, business, etc.

As stated by our interviewee, children born of Cape Verdians in the United States have a certain educational level which is not found in those who were the pioneers of the emigration to American land.

It is known that the current world economic recession has gradually aggravated the employment problem in certain countries, chiefly in those countries that admit emigrant workers. On this subject, we asked Alirio Silva to what degree Cape Verdian emigrants to the United States is affected by this situation.

Unemployment, according to Alirio Silva, does not affect the Cape Verdians. This is because there are certain jobs that are rejected, that our compatriots, as emigrants, do not hesitate to perform.

Creole in the United States is an official language

Instruction of the Creole language in bilingual schools (schools where two languages are taught simultaneously) constitutes one of the constant concerns of our communities in the United States. This initiative, on one hand, allows Americans of Cape Verdian descent to learn their ancestral language, and on the other hand, it is a way of appreciating a language that long ago was a victim of colonization.

As Alirio Silva disclosed, study of the Creole language at a scientific level is much more advanced in the United States than in Cape Verde. There, it is held as an official language of studies and currently there are American citizens who speak and write it frequently.

As the conversation continued, consul Alirio Silva implied that there is a strong need to establish better contacts among the various entities of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Cape Verdian communities in the United States. According to what he underscored, there is an exchange, but it is still insufficient for the current needs. "I think that despite the poor resources available it is possible to do something in this area," he said.

[Question] What are our compatriots' feelings about Cape Verde, before and after its independence?

[Answer] There is a simply sentimental reaction, that is, people who feel an overwhelming attachment to their native land; others feel proud to see their country free and independent now. I may further tell you that our compatriots who were here during the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of our national independence were extremely impressed with the development of Cape Verde.

[Question] What are the prospects of Cape Verde American technicians coming to Cape Verde to offer their services?

[Answer] Well, in this regard, I know that there are technicians interested in working in Cape Verde for a period of 2 years, enduring all the difficulties of the country. However, their services can only be useful to the country if they are properly planned. This is a principal condition. On the other hand, I see not only the possibility of these people coming to Cape Verde to work as individuals, but also the opportunity for the communities to organize themselves for an even greater support. If this were to occur, they would enjoy a greater reputation in the eyes of the U.S. government, and their native land would reap all the benefits.

[Question] It is known that the United States has communities from nearly all origins. How are the relations between the Cape Verdian communities and the other communities settled there?

[Answer] The relations are good with all the communities, particularly the Portuguese and Latin American communities. The fact that each community

assumes its roots brings the Cape Verdian closer among themselves in relation, for example, to the Latin American communities. For historical reasons, the Portuguese and the Cape Verdians are closer to each other.

Before ending our interview, Alirio Silva alluded to the need to reshape the Cape Verdian geopolitical domain. "Our archipelago," he continued, "is increased by other islands abroad. This is because every Cape Verdian community abroad is an integral part of Cape Verde. Therefore, it is important to outline a policy aimed at reaching this domain so that it can be useful to Cape Verdians.

"It is necessary to develop a policy of emigration whose purpose is to facilitate for the representatives abroad the execution of the office with which they have been entrusted; for the measures that have been taken up until now are insufficient," concluded the diplomat.

13007/12951
CSO: 3442/52

DJIBOUTI

FRENCH SUPPORT PLEDGED FOR PUBLIC HEALTH

Djibouti LA NATION in French 26 Dec 85 pp 1,2

[Text] As a sort of sneak prevue to the vaccination campaign planned to cover the entire country and reach the small population centers that are routinely neglected, only now beginning as we report in this issue, on Tuesday 19 December a major financing agreement and a protocol on public health were signed by the French government and the Republic of Djibouti, as part of the umbrella agreement on bilateral cooperation.

The agreement to provide financing in the amount of 100,000 FF covers planning, design, and completion of the West Djibouti Community health center, a new dispensary at Arhiba, and logistical and training facilities for setting up an initial plan for primary health-care delivery services. This new prevention and treatment structure comes in the nick of time to take care of a population growing very fast in this area and which until now had only dilapidated and inadequate installations. The buildings will form part of a fast-growing urban scene, and the care provided by medical staff should mesh neatly with the needs of the people who live in the Arhiba and Salines-Ouest areas.

Provision of medical, public health, and epidemiology services, relying heavily on community medicine practices, is the only effective and economically viable approach to improving health and erecting a protective wall against the surrounding epidemiological risks.

In this concept of organizing community health care and with a view to persuade mothers to bring their children in for examination, three reception and care pavilions will be built in the Ambouli dispensary compound: they will be covered by a special financing protocol providing funding on the order of 3,000,000 Djibouti francs.

Accordingly, this new contribution from the Aid and Cooperation Fund (FAC) will enable us to achieve the following goals:

- expand significantly and measurably the rate of primary health delivery in the short term (3 or 4 years);

- Significantly and measurably reduce the infant (and maternal) mortality rate in the short term (3 or 4 years);
- Identify and treat almost every TB patient in the middle term (6 or 8 years);
- Achieve and maintain a satisfactory level of sanitation in the middle term. This effort must be directed primarily at the urban sector. Community medical care must be expanded as the approach of choice for reaching these goals through upgrading and adapting the usual efforts:
 - Urban and rural dispensaries
 - PMIs
 - Mobile teams
 - Sanitation
 - Fight tuberculosis
 - Vaccination program
 - Health and hygiene education

This special effort, spurred by Franco-Djiboutien cooperation and bound to attract contributions from other donors and agencies, will be of great help in our innovative and exemplary project at the national as well as the regional level of application of the primary health care strategy and community medicine in an urban environment.

6182

CSO: 3419/178

ETHIOPIA

WORLD INDIFFERENCE TO TRAGEDY OF ERITREANS DEPLORED

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian Nov 85 pp 13-15

/Article by Luciano Ardesi: "The Famine Cannot End"/

/Text/ The Eritrean tragedy continues under the indifferent gaze of the world, and of our country in particular.

When the rains came abundantly and in good time for the May-June plantings, the prospect arose of a harvest adequate for the Eritrean resistance to end the long emergency the country has experienced because of the drought, and even more because of a war now lasting more than a quarter of a century. But, at the end of August, under the weight of the Ethiopian Army's Soviet-origin tracked vehicles, it took only a few weeks to destroy those crops and a year's work.

Crops Destroyed

In January of last year the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) succeeded in conquering the key city of Tessenei, second in importance in the Barka region, one of the most fertile of Eritrea. At the peak of the food shortage, and before public opinion became aware of the tragedy, the front, through its relief organization, ERA (Eritrean Relief Association) prepared reception and distribution centers in the liberated zone for tens of thousands of persons. It is well known how the appeal launched at that time by Eritrea went unheeded and how only at the beginning of this year assistance began to arrive, but confined to regions controlled by the Ethiopian Government.

Until the early months of this year only 5 percent of the needs of the Eritrean population affected by the famine were met; however during recent months there has been a greater supportive response, and the ERA estimates that before the Ethiopian offensive about 40 percent of their needs were covered by international food relief. For some time however the EPLF had undertaken to ensure the self-sufficiency of the people with projects for agricultural development in the new liberated zones. Around Tessenei about 100,000 hectares of land were tilled and planted in durra, a variety of sorghum commonly found in the country; wells were dug; and there was a good chance that stock-farming would start up again.

At the beginning of July even the city of Barentu, 120 km from Tessenei, fell into the hands of the EPLF. Extending the liberated zone would have made it

possible to avert from the fertile lowlands the continued action of the Ethiopian Army, which in recent years had not spared the civilian population and above all peasants at work in the fields. Rather, the front feared the bombardments and it had already prepared to defend itself from new attacks while planning to extend its agricultural projects. But there wasn't time. The Addis Ababa government moved two new divisions from Ogaden and Tigre to strengthen the offensive. First Barentu and then Tessenei were attacked by successive waves with heavy equipment which moved about on the level ground without difficulty.

The EPLF decided not to bear the frontal attack and withdrew from the two cities. The areas where the front had begun large agricultural projects were almost completely destroyed.

Addis Ababa's move to the offensive was no coincidence: the region gave promise of harvests and that would have strengthened the people's resistance to the coercion associated with food relief. In this connection there clearly is the contradiction of a government crying famine, on the one hand, and on the other deliberately destroying crops.

Assistance to the Army

In some districts the livestock was reduced by one-tenth over a period of 3 years, more than a thousand villages were destroyed, and the flow of refugees--700,000 since the beginning of the conflict in 1961--is again beginning to swell. The front is forced to resume the campaign against the misuse of international relief, which is now proving to be an increasingly big business for Ethiopia. At Barentu 300 sacks of flour of Canadian origin were found in the army warehouses. That is the most recent evidence confirming the use of food relief to strengthen the Ethiopian Government's armed forces. Elsewhere, Ethiopian distribution centers serve for enlisting new recruits.

Exactly 1 year ago, the EPLF proposed a ceasefire to facilitate relief distribution and create the premises for a dialog which might lead to a peaceful solution of the conflict. A few weeks later Menghistu rejected the proposal. But this still remains valid for the front, which, as is known, requests a self-determination referendum under international guarantees, and is prepared to respect its verdict. One year later the response from Addis Ababa is still clearer: the war continues because the famine cannot end.

/Boxed item/

What is striking at once in this work* is the absence of any polemical tone; this is all the more meritorious when one realizes that Cahsai Berhane is of Eritrean origin. And then there is the originality of the outlook. According to the authors the current conflict is nothing other than the result of an "unfinished decolonialization"; they claim that had it not been for the Ethiopian demands, supported by the United States and by Great Britain, Eritrea would have been independent by 1952.

*Berhane, C. and Williamson, E. C., "ERITREA: A People On the March, XIX and XX Centuries." L'Harmattan, Paris, 1985, 200 pages.

In this matter, there is continuity in the reasoning of the NEGUS and the Menghistu regime which succeeded it in 1974 to head Ethiopia; both consider that in ancient times Abyssinia as well as Eritrea were part of the same kingdom of Axum. The authors condemn this, citing the following observation by an American researcher: "It is a little as if one defended an Italian claim on modern France on the pretext that the Roman Empire had conquered Gaul."

Nevertheless, the current Eritrean independence movement is not viewed favorably. Since 1964, Berhane and Rilliamson indicate, when the first battles broke out against the Ethiopian Army, the front for the liberation of Eritrea has paid dearly for dividing its combatants along religious or ethnic lines, as well as for the certain commanders' conduct who apparently acted like warlords.

In the beginning of the 1970's this tribalism and this sectarianism played an important role in the war between the guerrillas. Nevertheless, according to the authors, the creation of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1972, with an ideology impregnated with the thought of Cabral and Mao, and whose militants come more than urban centers and the most advanced peasants' groups, rather than from peoples such as the beni amer, represents a definite advance.

Various chapters deal in detail with agricultural reform, of learning the elements of reading, of the role of women, and the patience with which cells in liberated zones are constituted. That being said, they emphasize the paradox of the EPLF's statement that the working class should lead the revolution, while it derives the essential part of its forces from the countryside, where 80 percent of the population lives.

In the logic of a work whose value lies mainly in analyzing an Eritrea whose complexities of class relations, and their interaction with religions, are sensitively described, the work does not conceal problems: "because of the contradictions in Eritrean society and above all because of the massive intervention on Ethiopia's side of countries from the east (who have abandoned the Eritrean cause), the independence movement is threatened. But as recent developments have shown, the last word has not yet been said."--Francois Misser.

9772/12228
CSO: 3428/6

GUINEA

HIGH HOPES PINNED ON SANGAREDI MINE

Conakry HOROYA in French 7 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Mamadou Sy Savane]

[Text] The start of operations at the Sangaredi mine is an invigorating injection of courage, intelligence, and seriousness, not to mention technique and technology. A handful of men, determined since May 1983 to get the job done, are not the least bit daunted by the difficulties they face--the blazing sun, the pelting rains, the pitiless chill of the harmattan, or even their wages which do not seem to be fair compensation for the difficulties of the terrain.

Nevertheless, the bauxite comes in every day for shipment to its port of embarkation at Kamsar, steadily as ever, and sometimes even faster than ever. Innovations in the approach to the job are frequent occurrences.

This enormous loaf, measuring 4 square kilometers, is being eaten away, and at the same time revealing new facets. Actually, once the first stope was completed in October 1982, the second and third stopes have come on-line since that date on the Eastern face. Difficulties arose at that point on the ground when they were confronted with patches of "sticky bauxite" that clogged the excavators, subsidence of the railroad tracks leading to and from the mine-head, which caused locomotives and ore-cars to derail.

Looking at the demanding time-table that is the hallmark of its activities, the mine management office came up with a practical solution to support the huge PH electric shovels, weighing 300 tons apiece and in operation since 1973. It provided the Extraction Department with four 50-ton D,J,B, trucks and two light-weight hydraulic shovels weighing 160 tons each for loading the ore-cars and storing large quantities of bauxite, thereby rendering access to the clayey spots risk-free.

"With the introduction of these new vehicles," says Fabory Camara, superintendent of Department 02, with obvious satisfaction, "production and productivity have improved to the point where we now have reserve stocks sufficient to cover any slowdowns and to meet the urgent demand from Kamsar. In a single working day, thanks to this new equipment, we have 6,000 tons of our daily quota in stock."

Hewing to that line, the mine yielded 7,797,912 tons of bauxite between January and Octoebr 1985. The high point of that remarkable performance came in March, when production hit 1,049,022 metric tons.

Of course, the new equipment helped make that record possible, but the unflagging enthusiasm of the men and their readiness to work made it possible to load 400 ore-cars per day, bound for Kamsar. These same men also enforced the safety regulations along the 35 kilometers of railroads running inside the mine. Neither the sticky, muddy patches nor the constant replacement of rails, much less the rocks that roll down on the tracks can damp their spirits.

Displaying a frankness invariably typical of the good worker the man who heads Department 03 (Roads and access), Andoumane Kandet explains the particular features of this railway line that shuttles back and forth from the mine in terms of what it does. Trains are made up on-site (ties, rails, and crossings) Ahead of the new tracks segment, heavy machinery levels the terrain to match the stope level , and the boggy patches are left for the topping-off crews to handle. We found that there is also a ballast-crushing facility that pre-treats ballast into bauxite earmarked for track-laying.

The incidence of sticky clay zones calls for more effort in the meticulous job of laying track, which calls for a lot of geometrical calculations and presence of mind. With 11 years' experience, Engineer Ansoumane Kandet inspects and approves the laying of 144 meters of rail per day and per team.

In addition to laying track to the mine, Department 03 oversees roads and other terracing operations having to do with the operations zone.

There is keen competition among the various units or departments responsible for processing the bauxite and shipping it to Kamsar. This job cannot be thoroughly done without the help of geologists and topographers put in charge of research and prospecting. They are the one who pinpoint the minerals and evaluate the reserves. At the Sangaredi mine, their specific job is to steer the operation by estimating the quality and quantity of ore, And today, after 12 years of full-scale operation, they estimate that there are reserves of 150 ,000,000 metric tons of ore on the Sangaredi plateau containing an average of 60 percent aluminum. In another area of information, Alious Camara, an engineer with Department 04, cites the Bidikoun plateau where experts believe there may be very rich bauxite deposits, as geological exploration continues to probe possible extension areas.

All these major operations, with the exception of research and prospecting, are conducted--after further stages if not a capital phase of market research and drilling for extraction and shipment.

For anybody coming for the first time to Sangaredi, there is always a flutter of the heart on hearing a great blast from the East. That enormous noise is part of the environment here, and has already become part of the daily routine. Where else could it be so important?

First of all, handling explosives, setting them off, and the danger to which the men at this Department 01 are exposed. Their nerves are always on hair-trigger settings when they are getting set for a blast.

By way of evidence, while I was covering this story, the PI superintendent, young Bachir Diallo, refused to see me while he was working on a blast at Cite in preparation for new waste-water drainage channels. Once the operation was completed, it occurred to him that it might be more enlightening for me to prowl about a bit out there where the action was. Owing to the timetable set up for my work, I was able to visit the drilling and mining Department only at 1900 hours, which coincided with a downpour of rain at Sangaredi that Friday 15 November 1985.

Without further ado I plunged into the heart of the matter. And Bachir Diallo gave me the following explanations about his department, drawing on records citing in minute detail, day by day's dust-clouds, the photographs of mushroom clouds so reminiscent of the photographs of just such clouds taken in the far-off South Pacific... "Without us, there would be no bauxite mining, nor life at the mine. Right now, we are conducting the most powerful mining blasts in the world, and we have the very latest technology when it comes to blasting. Each year, we bring out 11 to 12 million metric tons of bauxite..."

Turning to problems on the site, Bachir told us that they are due to the presence of clay strata underlying the bauxite deposits or, occasionally, cropping up in the form of unstable lenticular outcroppings that are quite unsuited to working with explosives.

To get around these problems, studies are made every day, and the work of blasting, extraction, loading, and shipping the bauxite to the processing plants at Kamsar goes on smoothly, introducing innovations as it progresses.

The men who actually do the producing and account for productivity levels that match their own commitment to progress and cooperation with other brothers who come from other places also have other concerns: housing, health, free time, and schooling.

6182

CSO: 3419/175

IVORY COAST

HOUFOUET-BOIGNY, NEARING 80, STILL DODGES SUCCESSION ISSUE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Carola Kaps, signed to press 10 October 1985: "A Baule Chieftain Will Never Designate A Successor"]

[Text] Political Theater in the Ivory Coast.

Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the President of the Ivory Coast who will soon be 80 years old, knows how to stage a political theater. The inhabitants of the Ivory Coast, the "Ivorians", and the political observers have been talking non-stop since the beginning of the year about the succession of the universally venerated "Father of the Nation," who promised his final declaration for the Eighth Party Congress of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDIC-RDA) this week. It is not a question of a new presidential candidate for the presidential election at the end of October. The "Old Man", who has returned from his traditional cure in Switzerland, is making no arrangements to give up his seat. He will be elected for the fifth time without competition and almost unanimously, as already happened in 1980.

What captures the imagination and keeps the suspense is Houphouet-Boigny's announcement, which has stood since 1980, which says he will settle the succession issue before the 1985 elections, in order to guarantee an orderly transfer of power in case of illness or death. The guessing game could have been avoided had Houphouet stayed with the ruling anchored in the constitution in 1975, which transferred responsibility for the government to the president of the national congress. With a sense of drama and political intrigue, he changed the constitution in 1980. The president of the parliament, Philippe Yace, who was flattered as the "crown prince", stepped back into political anonymity. The wise old man came out on top of the intense internal battles and fights for position when he created the position of vice-president, in imitation of the American system, and then did not fill the position but instead predicted he would name someone for the job on the eve of the October 1985 election.

The first current act and high point of this rather highhanded, but in an African context no more surprising, game with the constitution will be the appearance of international journalists on Monday, October 14th. Houphouet-Boigny invited over 300 African and international journalists to the closing of the eighth party congress. Around 30 delegations of African brother-

parties appeared at the party congress itself, which began on Wednesday with a lot of pomp and African folklore. The brother-parties originated with the first pan-African movement "Rassemblement Democratique Africain" (RDA), founded in 1946 and directed by Houphouet. With independence they broke off into their own national parties. The modern, well-tended Abidjan and the congress center of the "Ivoire" Hotel stand out as a symbol for this important decision of the senior African head of state, for not only the Ivory Coast but also for Africa itself. The overwhelming presence of the "old man", who has almost single-handedly shaped the history of the Ivory Coast for forty years and whose praise has taken on a cult-figure character, forms all details of this congress. His head looks out from countless posters, from colorful shirts and dresses of the enthusiastic organizers, and even on the maps which every congress participant receives along with other information material which is shoved in their hands.

"Inspiring Leadership"

The Ivory Coast's main daily newspaper, the "Fraternit Matin", has been running full pages of articles on the accomplishments of the Ivory Coast under the "wise, inspiring leadership" of the Father of the Nation. The unity party congress, which is taking stock of the first 25 years of independence under the motto of "Maturity, Peace, Freedom, Responsibility", is a singular praise of the service of the man whom the inhabitants respectfully and adoringly call the Father of the Nation, the Old Man, and the Wise Man. They are justifiably proud of their, in comparison with the rest of Africa, amazing economic and political success, which can be traced back largely to the leadership of Houphouet-Boigny. It was skillful, prudent, tolerant, and oriented towards consensus and stability. The unifying power of the Father of the Nation, who forged a nation out of over sixty various ethnic groups without considerable bloodletting, military takeovers and revolutions, and developed a noticeable Ivory Coast nationalism, can not be valued highly enough. That power also explains the tension and the certain concern with which the successor question is being observed, not only in the Ivory Coast. Is the unity, tolerance, freedom and the capacity for dialogue actually so deeply anchored that a peaceful, fully normal change of administration would permit the continuity of political and economic development? Or will the peace and stability of this lovely land which was so richly blessed by nature prove to be deceiving and shortlived, as soon as the authority and the charism of a Houphouet-Boigny is not there to hold it together? Diplomatic observers are cautiously optimistic. Houphouet personally took care of a dangerous ethnic dispute during a reconciliatory trip to the insurgent Bethe tribal chieftains this summer. All the ethnic groups profited from the economic development which was favored by political stability, and therefore would have a common interest in maintaining domestic peace. Besides that, there is no shortage of political talent, of responsibility consciousness, or of politicians created in that unity.

Many Rumors

No one can predict with certainty how the presidential decision yet to be made will shape the future. The many rumors which will be alive in Abidjan until the presidential declaration on Monday are interlaced with the phrase of

Houphouet-Boigny's: "A Baule chieftain will never name a successor." This opinion of the old politician seems to be explained in the superstition rooted in African tradition, the fear of challenging destiny, which is well understood by the people who live in the same tradition. But then they also point out in Abidjan that even a Houphouet-Boigny cannot again play with the constitution. Given that, it is expected that he will come up with at least an interim solution, in which case should he pass from life the direction of government business would be in the hands of the President of the Parliament and the Chairman of the Supreme Court, but within a month a new president would be elected by the people. In a second variation, a party executive committee would take care of business until an election is talked about. However, it cannot be ruled out that the Old Man will - as he has so often - give the self-instigated drama a completely unexpected surprising end.

13071
CSO 3420/0004

IVORY COAST

CHARACTERISTICS OF ELECTORATE DISCUSSED

Dakar AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 20 Nov 85 p 9

[Text] Can it be that Ivorian voters are fickle? On 27 October last, 99.28 of registered voters flocked to the polls to reelect Felix Houphouet-Boigny president of the republic by almost 100 percent of votes cast. A few weeks later, on the occasion of the parliamentary elections of 10 November, less than half the registered voters deigned to carry out their civic duties. The record of abstentions was achieved in Abidjan-Cocody: 6.45 percent.

Radio Abidjan commented this lack of interest in the elections to the legislative by citing the weakness of the election campaign conducted by candidates "who neglected the impact of direct contact with the voters." In view of the fact that the majority of voters did know at least some of the candidates (after all, they did not suddenly come from nowhere), we would assume that the average Ivorian voter considers voting for the president more important than voting for a deputy, whoever he might be. In fact, the latter has little influence on the great decisions liable to improve the living conditions of the people.

A second aspect of the Ivorian electorate's "fickleness" is that which a commentator of the daily FRATERNITE MATIN calls its "capriciousness." In 1980, when it was first possible to vote for individuals who were no longer protected by the umbrella of a single national list, the electorate proceeded to a great spring cleaning of politicians: Only 27 of 80 former deputies were reelected, and 120 new faces turned up. This sweep could have been explained by the voters being fed up with confirming in their functions those elected representatives who did not keep many of their honeyed electoral promises.

However, 5 years later, the voters "punished" the majority of the new faces of 1980 (who, admittedly, had the bad luck to be elected at a time when the country was hard hit by the economic crisis): Only 60 of 116 former deputies were returned, and 115 newcomers graced the benches of parliament.

There may be a fundamental misunderstanding between the elected representatives and their clients. An Ivorian colleague is attempting to remove it: "The deputy is :national," the mayor "local." The voters require the deputies to act as if they were mayors, not part of the national government. However, it is quite possible that the Ivorians are well aware of this, seeing that they vote massively for the president of the republic and scorn to vote for the deputies.

IVORY COAST

COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, PROSPECTS VIEWED

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 23-24 Nov 85 p 18

[Article by special correspondent Marie-France Cros: "Ivory Coast: What Happened to the 'Miracle'?"]

[Text] Has the Ivory Coast arrived at the end of the tunnel? Though the model of stability and prosperity in West Africa, the country of President Houphouet-Boigny, too, experienced a strong recession which brought to an end the Ivorian "miracle."

The drought which adversely affects farm yields, the country's main source of foreign exchange, the drop in international aid and the disappearance of low interest loans, the fall of prices of raw materials in terms of dollars, the rise in the latter and, therefore, the prices of imports--all this brought about serious losses for the Ivorian economy in the past 2 years.

A Bright Spot: Still, the sun has broken through again: An excellent rainy season resulted in record harvests of cocoa (of which the Ivory Coast is the world's biggest producer) and coffee (the third biggest producer) at 552,000 tons and 300,000 tons respectively.

An Abidjan economist told me: "As world exchange rates are just about on an even keel now, the budget is expected to be much bigger. Consequently there will be a recovery of consumption but not necessarily of investment."

"For any real recovery," my informant told me, "the country would have to find a source of self-financing to pay its debts (more than \$4 billion, amounting to \$500 per head of the population). That could happen only by the exploitation of a new source of revenues (gasoline, gas or whatever)--but it does not seem that the government is taking that approach--or by renewed borrowing on the market, based on confidence."

Confidence? In October, at a marathon press conference lasting almost 6 hours, the aged Ivorian president (80) made a visible effort to reassure everybody about his state of health by giving a stunning performance of physical strength and powers of improvisation (see LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, 18 October 1985). Furthermore, he stressed that his country had been paying the

moneys due on the nail and had therefore been able without too much trouble to obtain an extension of payments to be made in 1985. "Once confidence is restored, the economy will take off again," said our economist.

Will It Be?

Many observers are doubtful. They consider that all might be well if it were possible to resolve the uncertainty about the succession to President Houphouet-Boigny whose good health does not guarantee immortality. The latest constitutional arrangements provide for elections upon a vacancy in the seat of power. As Houphouet-Boigny has always been the one to decide everything, some people fear that the lack of practice and responsibility among his ministers may create instability as soon as the "old man" will no longer be there to advise and arbitrate.

Pedalling. "The Ivory Coast is like a cyclist," the economist explains. "All is well as long as he pedals, in other words as long as there is investment. Once investments dry up, all the problems recur."

What are these problems? The same we note all across the continent. At independence, the Africans inherited a system in which the government was the enemy because it represented the invader. They have not yet gotten rid of that mentality which considers that government money does not belong to anybody, and that it is even laudable to appropriate it.

Furthermore, and that holds true specially for the Ivory Coast, many social benefits are held not to be rights but favors. The result is a system of patronage that all too often places people in jobs for which they are not qualified. Another consequence is the persistence of tribalism--people vote for someone because he is of the same or a related tribe--and that hinders the discussion of ideas and, therefore, the emergence of institutions better adapted to the country.

Pyramid. Finally, the Ivorian model, structured like a pyramid, sins by neglecting the individual. On top are the foreigners (mostly French) who operate the equipment, work efficiently but cost a lot. At the bottom of the pyramid, immigrant workers are keeping their noses to the grindstone--they come from the neighboring and poorer countries. The Ivoirians themselves occupy the stratum between these two, and among them the civil servants take pride of place.

"In short, we have an open economy. Unfortunately people do not think in these terms," my economist friend affirms. Ivorian nationalism quickly turns to xenophobia: Ghanaians, Burkinabes (from the former Upper Volta), Togolese, Malians, Guineans and even Lebanese businessmen are praying for a long life for President Houphouet who protects them, because he is well aware of their importance for the country's economy.

What will happen to them once he is gone? And what will happen to the Ivory Coast if its 2 million immigrant workers (25 percent of the population) have to flee the country? Or if new economic difficulties oblige the Ivory Coast

to get rid of its French "brains?" Businessmen say regretfully that "we do not see where we are going."

By not having eliminated these uncertainties by beginning to train a successor, President Houphouet-Boigny prolongs the unease of the businessmen who consider that any past growth in the Ivory Coast has not been due to indigenous successes. "It is rather like a patient with a permanent transfusion--a fragile state of affairs."

Belgians in the Ivory Coast

Some 1,500 Belgians live in the Ivory Coast, a country with which ours maintains excellent relations. "There are no disputes between us," says our embassy in Abidjan. Indeed, embassy spokesmen like to remember that the Ivory Coast and Cameroon were the only African countries to help Brussels at the time of the troubles in the Congo.

Our compatriots are represented in the merchant navy, farming, livestock breeding, mathematics and university teaching, the health service. Ivorian officials consider it "modest but quality cooperation." It also has the advantage of costing the Ivory Coast less than French cooperation: While Abidjan pays 25 percent of the salary of Belgian cooperators, it supplies 75 percent of the salaries paid to the citizens of our neighbor to the south.

Some of our compatriots in the Ivory Coast are private businessmen. Two Belgian banks (the Generale and Bruxelles-Lambert) are represented in Abidjan as well as various Belgian corporations involved in the food industry, engineering, transportation and public works.

Finally, for the past 10 years, Abidjan has boasted a Belgian Business Club.

11698
CSO: 3419/133

LESOTHO

POLITICAL PARTIES LIKELY TO BE OUTLAWED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 Jan 86 p 11

Text

MASERU — The Basotho, who have not had real political freedom since independence, now face an indefinite period of military rule in the name of the King.

Party politics will probably not be allowed for a long time and a general election is not likely until the new military rulers are satisfied there has been reconciliation of the political feuds that have torn the country since independence.

The military leaders who ousted the Leabua Jonathan Government over the weekend yesterday announced the vesting of executive and legislative powers in the King.

The next step will probably be the outlawing of political parties, followed by the promulgation of an amnesty to allow political exiles to return home.

The conservative military men are thought unlikely to adopt strongly socialist policies, but a greater measure of socialism could be introduced into a mixed economy for practical rather than ideological reasons.

The new regime is expected to screen political refugees more rigorously to detect ANC members and ensure they do not use Lesotho as a base for insurgency in South Africa.

But it will refuse to hand back any ANC members to the South African authorities and will allow them to travel on to other countries.

In some quarters it is not expected that this will stop South Africa from imposing measures such as the current border blockade.

The blockade is seen by some as aimed not at forcing Lesotho to crack down on ANC activities but at demonstrating to the outside world how South Africa's neighbours could suffer if sanctions are applied against the Republic.

In informed circles in Maseru it is said the major cause of the coup was the challenge posed to the military by the arming of the ruling Basuto National Party's youth league.

The military leaders are expected to reject any South African efforts to force Lesotho to expel the Soviet bloc and Chinese embassies, but they may require them to scale down their presence in Lesotho.

/12851
CSO: 3400/1026

LESOTHO

MILITARY LEADERS KEEP ULTIMATE POWER

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 Jan 86 p 11

Article by Gerald L'Ange: "Soldiers Keep Ultimate Power"

Text MASERU — Lesotho's military leaders have given themselves a watchdog role in the new political order they imposed with their coup last weekend.

They have given the job of running the government to the King, the civil service and possibly a few selected politicians who will be expected to eschew party politics.

But the soldiers have retained ultimate power and have put themselves in a position to dictate policy and practice to the civilian administrators.

They have reserved the right to intervene if they do not approve of any government decisions and to take back all power if they want to.

The foundations of the new order in Lesotho were laid in a proclamation published in the *Government Gazette* yesterday that vests both legislative and executive authority in King Moshoeshoe II.

The King's decisions will be subject to the approval of a military council set up in the same proclamation. The historic order, the first by the military leaders since they ousted Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, also sets up a council of ministers.

The ministers, who will run the various government departments, will be appointed by the King.

The members of the military council, who will hold ultimate power in Lesotho, are defined as "such officers as are for the time being in charge of the Lesotho Paramilitary Force".

No limit is set on the size of either the Military Council or Council of Ministers.

SUSPENDED

The order repeals the Parliament Act

of 1983 which Chief Jonathan's Parliament passed to supersede the constitution adopted at independence in 1966 but suspended by him when he seized power four years later.

Since the order does not reinstate the original constitution, the order itself in effect becomes Lesotho's constitution.

Published "by the authority of the chairman of the Military Council," the order is issued in the name of King Moshoeshoe II.

It has only nine operative paragraphs. But its simplicity conceals a sophistication that indicates that more than military minds were behind it.

On the face of it, the order sets up the King as a figurehead for the military leaders.

But it does more than that. By giving both legislative and executive powers to the King, the soldiers have acknowledged their own limitations in this field.

At the same time the appointment of the supposedly impartial King has put the new government above party politics and opened the way for reconciliation of the country's damaging political feuds.

The military leaders have declined to follow the example of other coups in Africa of trying to run the government themselves.

But they have specified rights of intervention extending even to scrapping the order itself — including the powers given to the King.

Since their guns give them this power anyway, these paragraphs stand as a warning to the civilian administrators as much as anything else.

All existing laws are validated by the order but the King is empowered to repeal or change any of them and to make new ones.

/12851

CSO: 3400/1026

MALAWI

POLISARIO ENVOY BRIEFS NATION ON WESTERN SAHARAN SITUATION

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 17 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] The Ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs-in-charge of foreign missions of the Sahara Democratic Republic (SADR), Mr. Mokhtar Brahim, was in the country to inform Malawian authorities about the current situation in Western Sahara occupied by Morocco against the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Mr. Brahim is on a tour of five countries in Southern Africa. He has already been to Mozambique and Zimbabwe. From Malawi he went to Zambia and Botswana before returning home.

Speaking to newsmen on arrival at Kamuzu International Airport, Mr. Brahim recalled that the OAU at its 19th Summit decided unanimously on a peace plan to resolve the problem of Western Sahara and the plan was mainly based on direct negotiations between the Polisario and Morocco.

He said Polisario accepted the African peace plan.

"And we expressed our will to abide by this plan and to start negotiations with Morocco any time and anywhere.

"Our position has been welcomed by all the international community but unfortunately Morocco has refused to start negotiations according to the OAU resolutions," he said.

He stated that last year the African peace plan was also unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. Brahim said the SDR is a full member of the OAU and has diplomatic relations with 53 countries around the world.

The polisario envoy was met at their airport by an official from the Ministry of External Affairs.

/13104
CSO: 3400/1022

MALAWI

LOW WAGES BRING TENSION TO BANDA

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY TIMES in English 19 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Joost ten Horn]

[Text] The man begging money in a downtown park in Harare says he is from Malawi. He is hungry and asks for enough to buy a meal. Asked how he had come to be in Zimbabwe he explains that he is looking for work:

"I would surely be willing to go and work in South Africa, but the trip will cost me a lot of money.

"South Africa is a good country to get a job. Well, I'm not talking about the way they treat us Black people down there, but if you want to find work like I do, you just put up with that."

Six weeks earlier he had left his wife and children in Malawi and set out on his search. On his leg is a suppurating sore. His job-hunting has not met with much success.

"Here in Zimbabwe I could earn six times as much as in Malawi", he calculates. "But I haven't got money for a work permit".

Like thousands of Malawians, the man is caught between the limited opportunities of his own country and the restrictions on foreign workers in neighbouring countries.

There is little in the way of opportunity in the low-paying, agriculture-dominated Malawian economy. Often the only option available is to join the estimated one million or more foreign workers who endure Pretoria's humiliating apartheid laws in return for a job at a farm or mine.

Life President Banda - for much of his time in power he has also been prime minister, secretary of state, minister of defence, justice and agriculture and commander-in-chief of the armed forces - once told President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: "Everyone is against apartheid, but the southern African region simply can't do without South Africa".

Malawi is not the least of the dependents. Malawi's supermarkets are filled with products from "down south". The prestigious government centre, Capital Hill in Lilongwe, built 10 years ago was a donation of Pretoria.

South Africa has invested tens of millions of kwachas in its tiny northern neighbour, and airliners continue to arrive for the men and boys needed to fill the jobs many South African blacks will not take.

Malawi is a country of extremes. While fostering the friendliest relationship with Pretoria of any of South Africa's black neighbours, it maintains its membership in SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference), an organisation of nine countries dedicated to weakening economic dependence on the apartheid state.

Tourist praise the beauty of the country, including the fascinating scenery of the Nyika Plateau, Mulanje Mountain and Lake Nyasa, Africa's third largest lake.

Meanwhile, the state intelligence apparatus is reputed to be among the most advanced on the continent, and is aimed primarily at Malawian citizens and the foreign workers who come to assist them.

Said a development workers from Holland: "I've been told that the service employs some South African advisers, among other things to keep an eye on Dutch workers in Malawi. We have the reputation of being critical people, and are supposed to be looked after by the South Africans who understand the language."

He adds: "There are probably taps on various phones, and parcels and letters are being controlled too".

In recent years, when neighbouring countries like Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe were suffering drought, Malawi has been less affected.

In what could be a prosperous country, the infant mortality rate is not far behind such impoverished countries as Bangladesh and Burkina Faso. More than 40 per cent of children die before age five; the life expectancy of Malawians is among the world's lowest.

Comments an agriculture specialist who has worked in Malawi for several years: "Agriculture provides the base of Malawi's foreign currency earnings. The country's soil doesn't contain any minerals. There is hardly any urbanisation: 85 per cent of the population is living in the rural areas".

Small farmers are better off than urban residents, perhaps owning a few chickens and working a small piece of land. Wages are kept extremely low, combating urbanisation but also contributing to the difficulty of making a living.

Says the agriculturalist: "Several Malawians have told me they disagree with the government's policy, but only when there was nobody else around.

"It always boiled down to the low wages, and to discontent with the upper class driving around in big Mercedes limousines. Everyone complains at all levels. But many people are afraid to express those feelings in public.

Banda has been in power since independence in 1964. Rivals within and outside the government have been eliminated often violently. Despite his age - officially a secret but commonly accepted to be over 80 - he appears in good health and has no serious rivals.

Speculation about the succession is inevitable, although only in whispers. Any number of possibilities have been raised, including a military takeover, although the political bent of the armed forces is not clear.

It is a matter that seems remote to the thousands trying to struggle through another day. Reflected a man on a Blantyre street: "Banda cares only about his own possessions. I don't know if we will be better off when he's dead and gone, but it can hardly be worse".

The man in the Harare park is more certain: "It will be better after Banda. We have to wait and see what the future will bring. But I will certainly not go back to my country before Banda dies, that's for sure".

/13104
CSO: 3400/1022

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

SOVIET MEDICAL EXPERTS--AIM has reported from Moscow that the number of Soviet medical experts working in Mozambique will increase to 90. According to a high-ranking official in the Soviet Ministry of Health, the programs of cooperation between the two countries has been growing steadily even since more than 40 Soviet experts began working in Mozambique some 10 years ago. There are presently 40 Soviet experts working in various Mozambican cities. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 26 Jan 86 MB] /12858

SWEDISH AID MISSION--In Maputo this morning the Minister of Development Aid of the Kingdom of Sweden met Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs Jacinto Veloso. Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallen also met Mozambican Minister of Finance Rui Baltasar. The schedule of her visit to Mozambique includes a tour of Electronics State Enterprise and Agricultural Machinery Enterprise, as well as the opening of a publishing house in Maputo. The main topic of discussions between Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallen and the members of the Mozambican government deal with cooperation and development in various fields. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 4 Feb 86 MB] /12858

CSO: 3400/1032

NAMIBIA

COURT HEARS DEFENSE OF ALLEGED SWAPO MEMBERS

BB042036 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1152 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Windhoek, February 4, SAPA--Sections of the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act were in conflict with the bill of fundamental rights contained in the South African state president's proclamation R101, the Windhoek Supreme Court heard today.

Proclamation R101 instituted the SWA/Namibian transitional government on June 17 last year. Defense Counsel, Mr Ian Farlam, was submitting argument for the setting aside of charges against seven alleged SWAPO members. The accused are Mr Frans Angula, 28, Mr Norbert Ankone, 25, Mr Elkan Simon, 21, Mr Bernardinus Shikongo, 47, Mr Desiderius Ankome, 26, Mr Erastus Uutoni, 28 and Mr Vilho Kashilulu, 22.

No charges were put to the accused when proceedings began today amid considerable public interest and tight security precautions at the Windhoek Supreme Court.

According to the charge sheet, which runs to 114 foolscap pages, the state would allege the accused were linked to or had knowledge of a series of acts of sabotage in SWA/Namibia, including a bomb blast at Okatana service station in the north of the territory in April 1984. Two United States diplomats, Mr Dennis Keogh and Lieutenant Colonel Kenneth Crabtree, died in the explosion.

The state would also allege the seven men had promoted the aims of communism and the doctrine of Marxist-Leninism, particularly according to the charge sheet. All the offences were allegedly in contravention of the terrorism act and the suppression of communism act.

Mr Farlam argued that proclamation R101 was no ordinary law and contained "important" constitutional provisions for SWA/Namibia. "It represents a fundamental change in the constitutional law of the territory," he said.

The bill of fundamental rights annexed to proclamation R101 provided, among other things, for freedom of expression and freedom of association.

"Laws which seek to outlaw one or other political party, or one or other political doctrine are in conflict with the bill of fundamental rights," Mr Farlam submitted. Proclamation R101 stated that the fundamental rights"

should be "respected and upheld by our successive governments and protected by entrenchment in the constitution." As such, the court should give prime consideration to the recognition and protection of rights, cited in proclamation R101.

The fundamental rights bill of proclamation R101 was retroactive and superseded all security legislation in SWA/Namibia which was not tenable with the proclamation, Mr Farlam said.

Accordingly, the Terrorism Act and the suppression of Communism Act "are now subject to the bill (of fundamental rights), and hence unconstitutional and unenforceable," he added.

The court was asked to uphold the defences objection to the indictment and to set aside charges.

/12913
CSO: 3400/1023

NAMIBIA

GOVERNMENT-SWAPO 'ROW' OVER MEETINGS DISCUSSED

IM060721 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 5 Feb 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] A row has broken out in Namibia between the internal wing of SWAPO and the authorities. It is all over whether SWAPO can hold public meetings. SWAPO claims that since the South African-sponsored interim government was set up in June last year, a bill of rights guaranteeing freedom of speech means that it ought to be able to hold meetings, but the interim government apparently thinks otherwise. Julian Marshall asked Gwen Lister in Windhoek what has sparked off the row.

[Begin recording] [Lister] Well, the youth movement of SWAPO held a meeting over the weekend in Katutura just outside Windhoek to commemorate the international year of peace. Police moved in shortly after the meeting had started and used teargas and baton-charged people in order to bring the meeting to a halt. Several people were injured, and at a press conference yesterday, interim government minister, Moses Katjiuongua, seriously warned the SWAPO movement about what he called illegal public meetings. He referred to Sunday's meeting, saying that it was not an isolated incident and that the government had information that attempts were underway to instigate consumer boycotts, boycotts of schools, as well as strikes. He also said that strong action would be taken against similar meetings in the future. In terms of the prohibition and notification of meetings act, SWAPO is not allowed to hold public rallies.

[Marshall] So, Gwen, what is the position. Is SWAPO the only political body that is not allowed to have meetings?

[Lister] Well, in terms of the notification and prohibition of meetings act, any political movement which has a constitution which advocates violence is not allowed to hold public meetings in Namibia. SWAPO is the only movement that falls under this category at present.

[Marshall] And what has been SWAPO's response to Katjiuongua's remarks?

[Lister] Well, SWAPO's Foreign Affairs Secretary Nico Bessinger said today in reply to Mr Katjiuongua that he thought it was significant the SWAPO had held a press conference last year shortly after the inauguration of the interim

government where they had predicted that because the interim government was not properly elected, that they would suppress the popular will, as he called it, of the people of Namibia, and this is what he feels is happening at the moment.

[Marshall] But does SWAPO intend to continue holding public meetings?

[Lister] Yes, they do, and in fact, SWAPO's national executive has decided at a meeting this weekend that they would in fact be holding a congress at the end of April. This will be the first congress to be held in SWAPO inside Namibia since 1976. So, even the holding of this congress would fall under the notification and prohibition of meetings act and stands the risk of being broken up by the police. [end recording]

/12913

CSO: 3400/1023

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

NUJOMA CALLS FOR UNITY--Comrade Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, addressed the African Association of Political Sciences in Harare yesterday. Comrade Nujoma told the countries in southern Africa to unite their forces against the aggressive Botha regime. He said Pretoria is an agent of imperialism and continues to sponsor HNR bandits in Mozambique as well as UNITA bandits in Angola in order to nullify the economic struggle in the SADCC region. The SWAPO leader said his organization will implement its national development plan through SADCC when Namibia becomes independent. On recent developments in Lesotho, Comrade Nujoma condemned South Africa for imposing the economic blockade which led to a bloodless coup against Chief Leabua Jonathan. He also said SWAPO will intensify the armed struggle until Namibia is independent. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 1 Feb 86 MB] /12913

CSO: 3400/1023

NIGERIA

ITALY MAKING INROADS IN NAVAL EQUIPMENT, DEFENSE MARKET

Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Jan 86 p 33

[Text]

The Republic of Nigeria is proving a good market for Italian naval equipment. The 3600-ton frigate (more accurately rated as a destroyer) Aradu has a formidable armament: a 127mm/54 cal. gun, four twin Breda 40mm Compact guns, an Albatros short-range SAM system and eight Otomat surface-to-surface missiles. In addition she has Breda SCLAR 105mm rocket-launchers for chaff and decoys. The Navy Lynx helicopters are fitted with Whitehead Motofides torpedoes.

The Oto-Melara 76mm gun is being retrofitted to the older training frigate Abuma, and the same weapon is mounted in the two Mk 9 corvettes Erin Oml and Enyimiri, built by Vosper Thornycroft in 1975-80.

Although the two classes of missile boats are built in two different countries, with differing missiles and fire control, the gun armament is standard: one Oto-Melara 76mm gun and a twin 40mm Breda Compact. The German-built Ekpe, Damisa and Agu are armed with four Otomat missiles.

A major export success has been scored by Intermarine of Sarzana, who in 1983 won an order for the first of two Lerici class glass-reinforced plastic (GRP) minehunters. Not only was this the first export order for the new Italian design but it also marks a new interest in mine warfare among African navies. The high level of interest in mine counter-measures in major navies outside Africa is clearly being followed, for as the minelaying incidents in the Red Sea last year showed, sophisticated mines are becoming available.

/13104
CSO: 3400/1024

NIGERIA

NIGERIA TO RECEIVE POLISH AID

Poland Offers Loan

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 10 Jan 86 p 16

Article by Musa A. Tijjani: "Poland to Give Nigeria \$120m Loan" /

Text The Polish Government has announced its intention to grant a loan of 120 million dollars to the federal government.

According to the Polish Ambassador in Nigeria, Mr Mieczyslaw Cielecki, the loan is to assist the federal government in financing its projects such as mining, energy, education and shipping industries.

The Polish ambassador who was speaking during a courtesy call on Governor Mohammed Alli of Plateau state on Tuesday said his government would also help in the development of medium and small-scale industries as well as provide expertise in other fields.

He said at present Poland was producing about 15 million tonnes of steel, 200 million tonnes of coal and used to be the second biggest coal exporter, a position he said Poland was trying to restore.

The Ambassador further advocated for a Polish-Nigeria cultural co-operation pointing out that about 250 Nigerians were currently studying in Poland despite the departure of some Polish lecturers, from the University of Jos for some undisclosed reasons.

Responding, Governor Alli expressed appreciation for the Polish government's confidence in the potentials of the state.

Kano Seeks Agricultural Assistance

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 12 Jan 86 p 1

Article by Salisu Alhassan Bichi: "Daku Seeks Polish Aid in Agric" /

Text Governor Ahmad Mohammed Daku of Kano State has called on the Republic of Poland to assist the state government in the area of agriculture.

Receiving the Ambassador of the Polish Peoples' Republic to Nigeria. Mr Mieczyslaw Cielecki, who called on him at the Government House last Friday, the governor observed that the East European block which included the Republic of Poland are noted for their excellent performance in agriculture.

In the light of this, the governor said Poland's contribution towards the development of agriculture in Kano State in particular and the country in general would be very much welcome.

He assured the ambassador that the state government would endeavour to find the avenue that would bring about closer ties between Poland and Nigeria.

Earlier, Mr Cielecki had informed the governor that despite the economic difficulties being experienced in both countries, their relationship would continue to remain cordial.

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CSO: 3400/995

NIGERIA

NNPC MANAGER CALLS FOR GAS BARTER DEAL WITH FRANCE

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 20 Jan 86 p 16

Article by Ndu Ughamadu

Text A barter deal with France on Nigeria's natural gas has been suggested as a way of developing the country's export base.

The General Manager, Economic Research and Corporate Planning Division of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Mr Michael Olorunfemi, said in the latest edition (January) of the France-Nigeria Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) Magazine.

He said that such a deal would reduce the flaring of gas to a maximum level adding that this would bring about the "optimization of Nigeria's benefits from her hydrocarbon resources."

Mr Olorunfemi said that in exchange, Nigeria would receive goods from France adding that a barter deal arrangement to develop a market for the Nigerian natural gas would be more acceptable to the public than such a deal in oil.

The general manager said that there was need for Nigeria to broaden her energy base in order to lessen its dependence on oil.

"Nigeria can benefit from the French experience in integrated energy planning and management. Nigeria's energy planning is still carried out separately on energy source basis without a general overview from a central point," he said.

According to him, there was need to have a Nigerian-French Energy Joint information on energy fields particularly in the areas of planning and research. He cautioned that while Nigeria could immediately embark on the use of solar energy, it was not technically feasible and "financially prudent to engage in nuclear energy now."

Mr Olorunfemi said that more Nigerian scientists and engineers should be exposed to learn about the development in nuclear technology adding that this would constitute our pre-production investment cost which would make further entry into nuclear energy less tedious and costly. Commenting on oil production by Elf company, he said that it had increased from 26.55 million barrels per year in 1981 to 35.81 million barrels a year in 1984.

He further said that France's share of Nigerian crude exports had always been increasing while those of USA and UK had been falling.

"In 1981, France accounted for 9 percent of Nigeria's total crude oil export. This increased to 16 percent in 1982, 20.8 percent in 1983 and 22.31 percent in 1984", he noted.

"Apart from oil production, he continued, Elf had consistently shown interest in the development of the natural gas resources of Nigeria adding "French interests have been registered in the Nigerian LNG project and in the search for market in Western Europe".

The general manager further said that Nigeria had to attract foreign oil companies like Elf to continue vigorously in carrying out exploration activities in the country.

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CSO: 3400/1038

NIGERIA

DAVID-WEST DISCUSSES OIL FIRM EXEMPTION FROM SURCHARGE

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 21 Jan 86 p 24

Text7 Oil companies operating in Nigeria have been exempted from the 5-15 percent surcharge on companies after-tax profits as part of the economic re-adjustment measures under this year's budget. The Minister of Petroleum Resources, Professor Tam David-West has said.

In an interview with newsmen at a party he organised for media executives, Professor David-West last Saturday said that President Ibrahim Babangida was convinced that the 15 percent surcharge was unnecessary after the chief executives of oil companies had made a representation to him.

He explained that while oil companies paid about 85 percent of their turnover as petroleum profit tax, companies outside the oil industry paid about 15 percent as company tax.

He said that the decision to exempt the oil companies was taken because the oil industry was crucial for the country's survival, adding that the chief executives of the oil companies had signed an inventive agreement with the government.

The minister also said that negotiations for the French contribution to the 390 million Naira contractor-financed fourth refinery at Port Harcourt would resume this week, and that an agreement for the credit facility would be signed within the next two weeks.

He said that the Japanese Gasoline Corporation and Maidubeni Corporation, also of Japan, had already provided 61.39 billion Yen (about 197.4 million Naira) representing the Japanese share of 70 percent of the cost of the refinery, while Spie Batignolles (SPIBAT) of France and SPIBAT (Nigeria) Limited would provide the remaining 30 percent in foreign exchange.

Professor David-West disclosed that African Oil Producers would meet in Lagos this week in a move to form an organisation similar to the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC).

He said that the proposed forum would enable African Oil Producers to consult one another on Petroleum matters, but it would not affect their membership of other bodies such as OPEC and OAPEC.

The minister described as unfortunate the recent statement by President Ronald Reagan that the US would initiate economic measures to deregulate the prices of oil and bring OPEC to its knees.

He said that although the oil market had not firmed up as expected, OPEC would never go on its knees, and that he did not foresee the official price of Nigeria's Bonny light crude falling from 28.65 dollars per barrel to below 20 dollars.

The minister said that the recent appointment of a permanent secretary for the NNPC was a "welcome" move, and expressed the optimism that relations between him and the Permanent Secretary, Alhaji Mohammed Aliyu, would be cordial.

Earlier in an address, the minister said that although 1986 might not be a "good" year for the oil industry, Nigeria had a lot of prospects.

We in Nigeria do not believe that there will be a price war, he said, pointing out that the recent decision by OPEC to have a fair share of the market was not meant to be a confrontation with non-OPEC crude producers.

The minister, who was appointed to administer the oil industry exactly two years ago last Saturday, left for Las Palmas on Sunday to deliver a keynote address at the sixth African conference on petroleum management, scheduled for yesterday.

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NIGERIA

BAUCHI GOVERNMENT TO SETTLE NOMADIC CATTLE HERDERS

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 23 Jan 86 pp 1, 3

Article by Waziri Garba

Text The government is to settle nomadic and the semi-nomadic cattle rearers in Bauchi State.

Under the scheme, to be operated on pilot basis within Wawa/Zange grazing reserve in the state, a minimum of 16 family units would be settled on a 4,000-hectare piece of land.

Each of the family units would be allocated about 250 hectares of land with a 50-year-lease grazing permit and would be assisted through extension services to develop a modern farm of profitable business enterprise.

The state Governor, Lt Colonel Chris Garuba, briefing the Resident Representative of the United Nation's Development Programme (livestock development in grazing reserve). Mr Bulcha Demeska on the project at Government House, Bauchi on Monday, said the scheme was aimed at improving the socio-economic life of the nomads.

He said schools, dispensaries and a simple market system would be established within a livestock service centre of the settlement as well as a small breed farm staff quarters and animal clinic.

Before settlement commences, some vital infrastructure that would be required by the settlers, such as pasture works for fodder, earth dams and supplementary seeds for livestock would also be provided.

Each family unit under the scheme would be assisted through credit arrangement to establish 50 hectares of pasture units, four to 10 hectares of grain farm and a simple cattle yard, he added.

The project is fully owned by the Bauchi State Government, the governor said but enjoyed the joint support of the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) of United Nations and the Federal Ministry of Agriculture.

Implementation of the project is being coordinated through an implementation committee headed by a permanent secretary in the state, while the state and Federal Ministry of Agriculture and the FAO had voted fund for the scheme.

Colonel Garuba further said an area had already been identified, surveyed, divided into 16 blocks of approximately 250 hectares each and a small earth dam had been constructed with a 110-hectare pasture unit cleared, adding that a livestock census of the area had already been conducted.

Other arrangements that had been completed towards the takeoff of the project were the provision of an office, recruitment of 11 staff to oversee the project while the FAO had donated a landrover, station wagon, two honda motorcycles and two bicycles for use by the staff.

A registration of the present land user would be conducted soon, after which the list of 16 potential permit holders would be selected and allocated 200 hectares for the initial takeoff of the project, he added.

He said the scheme could not takeoff as scheduled due to financial constraints but since a rural development authority had now been established in the state, assistance might be rendered to the scheme.

Mr Bulcha Demeska had earlier urged the governor to break the deadlock that hindered the takeoff of the scheme or else it would suffer a major set-back.

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CSO: 3400/1038

NIGERIA

STEEL PRODUCTION, EXPORT GOALS

Production Boost Expected

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 27 Jan 86 p 16

Text The Delta Steel Company, Ovwian Aladja, has set a production target of 406,000 tonnes of liquid steel for 1986 representing 40 percent of installed capacity.

The press secretary to the Minister of Mines, Power and Steel, Mr Jare Adesokan, told the BUSINESS TIMES in an interview last week in Lagos.

He said that out of this amount of liquid steel, the company is expected to cast 385,700 tonnes of billets, while the Rolling Mill was expected to produce 140,000 tonnes of rolled products.

"Other targets for the period are 500,000 tonnes of DRI, 732,000 tonnes of oxide pellets, 38,400 tonnes of burnt lime and 705 tonnes of foundry products."

The company, witnessed the highest production quantities in 1985 since the commissioning of the plant.

However, 35 percent of the company's down time was as a result of lack of essential spare parts and consumables.

Meanwhile, the Foundry section of the company "is currently producing 70 buoy sinkers thus saving Nigeria more than N550,000 in foreign exchange.

The production cost of the 70 pieces has been put at N165,000.

Steel Complex Exports Iron Products

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 17 Jan 86 p 1

Article by Odafe Othihiwa

Text Exportation of steel products to overseas from the Delta Steel Complex at Ovwian, Aladja near Warri is soon to start.

About 30,000 tonnes of cold lubricated iron produced by the company are now awaiting shipment to Brazil and some other European countries.

The acting General Manager of the Steel Complex Engineer Tachia Jooji told the DAILY TIMES in Warri, Bendel State, that the sale overseas of the company's direct reduced iron (DRI) or sponge iron would bring the nation substantial foreign exchange earnings.

He explained that with the just announced export guidelines by President Ibrahim Babangida in his budget speech, the company would follow the laid down procedure and also study the details "so that we don't infringe on the country's export guidelines".

Mr Jooji said that the product to be exported is a volatile one, which if not handled properly could create hazards and fire.

He added: "It is something we cannot handle in the rain, so we have to handle it in a dry atmosphere and take very good care of".

He said the company had almost perfected the engineering aspect of the handling and would soon make some shipments.

Asked whether the 50 percent subvention cut to government firms and parastatals would affect the company's operations, the general manager said it was bound to have some affect.

He said the steel complex had investment totalling #1.2 billion and stressed that it needed some working capital and good atmosphere to grow.

He added: "It is true that we have not benefited a lot from any government subventions in the past. We have tried a lot to move on our own, but it is quite difficult in that even when you have that kind of investment, you made at least 50 percent in cash flow to be able to take it appropriately, so we have not had this and we have been trying to go on.

'All these, coupled with all these cuts are certainly going to affect us, but we hope to take our case to the government for more study so that we should be given something which we are now asking for to bring this investment into proper footing".

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CSO: 3400/1037

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

UKPO ON PLO COMMITMENT--Nigeria is committed to the cause of the Palestinian state. This stand was made known by the Minister of information and Culture, Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Ukpo, when he received the PLO Ambassador to Nigeria, Ambassador Samir Baker, in his office at the weekend. He assumed that the Federal Government would do all within its powers, with the cooperation of other African countries, to help settle the Palestinian problem. The minister explained that the settlement of the Palestinian problem would serve as an impetus to the settlement of other world conflicts, especially the South African problem. Lt Colonel Ukpo said that he shared the aspirations of the Palestinian people since he was a member of the Nigerian contingent, United Nations Peace Keeping Force that served in Lebanon. Earlier, Ambassador Samir Baker, had urged the Federal Government not to encourage any diplomatic links with Israel.

[Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 21 Jan 86 p 7] /12851

COMPANIES FACE IMPORT LICENCE DENIAL--Companies which have arrears of excise duty to pay the Department of Customs and Excise may forfeit their current import licence allocation. This became necessary as the Customs and Excise Department embarked on measures to recover N208,562,265.62 owed it by various companies in the country. The public relations officer of the department, Mr Innocent Okoye, who made this known in Lagos yesterday, said such companies would in addition be black listed. Mr Okoye stated that "names of the defaulting excise traders or companies and the amount they owe the department will be published in all the national newspapers." He said the names of such companies would be forwarded to the Ministry of Trade "and the department will ensure that their applications for the current import licence will not receive any attention until the debt or the arrears are completely cleared." Mr Okoye said the defaulting companies acted in defiance of the several letters and directives of the department demanding that those arrears be paid up. The ultimatum for payment, he said, is January 22. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 10 Jan 86 p 13] /12851

FOREIGN SHIPS PAY IN HARD CURRENCY--Foreign vessels which berth in Nigerian ports will now pay part of their landing charges in foreign currency. The measure is aimed at bringing such payment in line with the practice worldwide and also to generate foreign exchange for the country. The executive chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority, Brigadier Musa Haladu, disclosed this while speaking to newsmen in Lagos. He explained that the present practice whereby foreign vessels pay for their various transactions in local currency could not be allowed to continue in view of the urgent need to revamp the nation's ailing economy. Brigadier Haladu said that the country's ports were under-utilised, especially the Calabar Port. He said the NPA was encouraging the various chambers of commerce and industry in the country to make use of the ports. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 11 Jan 86 p 2] /12851

CSO: 3400/1040

SENEGAL

WADE'S OUSTER OF DIOP SCORED AS BAD MISTAKE

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 12 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Less Coura]

[Text] The most egregious political error Atty Wade, who heads the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) ever made in his life was to oust Serigne Diop from his party. It is, to say the least, irresponsible to read the man responsible for the party's ideological orientation summarily out of that party. It is particularly so when that leader is at once the deputy and the right-hand man to that party's leader.

The old saying is true: politics is nothing but the art of seeming to be what one cannot be.

Every politician, every man in politics, is an artist of a special kind. Counsellor Wade's tragedy is precisely his lack of talent.

By deciding to oust his prime team-mate, Serigne Diop, from the PDS, Wade has merely succeeded in making his own position still more uncomfortable. Blinded by the theory of a Dioufist plot, he did not even give a thought to the retort of the young Progressive Party (PP) political professional, but confined the scope of his reflections on the future to a simple defection. A defection like all that had gone before it, reflecting nothing more than the change of camps by one PDS deputy.

Most unfortunately for Wade, Serigne Diop has no intention of changing camps. He is still a PDS man. He will lead the Party fraction that believes, as he does, that Wade the leader has struck out on the road to deviation and adventure. He has reportedly already had his party cards printed and we shall have to wait and see what he will have to say very shortly in his new Party publication, which will carry the same masthead as the well-known PDS organ: "LE DEMOCRAT."

We shall then be looking at two PDSs, one headed by Wade, and the other by Serigne Diop. As was once the case for us Marxists, with two PAIs, the second of which finally decided, under injunction from the State, to change the name. There is, however, worse to come: Serigne Diop is contemplating, in order to prop up his theory of deviationism, of publishing some explosive documents, which could establish the PDS leader's active complicity in criminal acts.

What, then, would Fara NDiaye's attitude be?

In the exclusive interview he granted us, and which we published in our last edition, the number-two man in the PDS seems to be in every respect the equal of the man he serves: Wade's man, all the way.

Could he, though, objectively speaking, maintain that unconditional loyalty to the end?

Two factors come into play here, and they lead us to think that Fara NDiaye, sooner-- rather than later, will be facing a hard decision: either to commit suicide as a politician by clinging to Wade's coat-tails, or be born again as a leader, while charging Wade with deviationism and party-splitting so as to get rid of him.

These two factors that should determine Fara NDiaye's attitude are the following:

1. If Serigne Diop does publish the "documents" that are mentioned, Wade would inevitably be charged and tried by the State Security Court.
2. If Wade persists in his decision to boycott all elections in the country, Fara, in justice to himself, will incur a moral obligation to distance himself.

In either case, he will have to get rid of Wade, take over the leadership of the PDS, and sit down to negotiate with Serigne Diop's faction with a view to "peaceful and independent" reunification" ... as the Koreans say.

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SIERRA LEONE

NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES BRING DOWN BLACKMARKET RATE

Freetown THE NEW CITIZEN in English 16 Jan 86 p 1

Text7 The blackmarket rate of the United States Dollar has fallen sharply from Le 16 to Le 11 to the Dollar in less than two months and this has been attributed to government's new economic measures.

The banning of the importation of goods on unnumbered licenses and government's determination to firmly deal with economic saboteurs have both brought about the curtailment of irregular business activities.

A New Citizen reporter "tested" the blackmarket at Sackville Street on Monday and it was discovered that the rate has sharply fallen.

Said one of the traders at Sackville Street..."Not many people are interested in Dollars these days. In any case the man we used to work for has been deported from the country and his brothers are not interested in continuing with the trade. In the past we used to buy Dollars as high as Le 16 because the man who hired us needed the money to bring in cigarettes."

Foreign made cigarettes started flooding the market in 1982 when the importation of goods through unnumbered licenses became an accepted government policy and since the sale of the cigarettes was not controlled it was easy for the importer to raise his foreign exchange in the black-market and still make profits.

It is also anticipated that the new policy which insists on the consistent allocation of foreign exchange will further push the blackmarket downwards.

The escalation of the blackmarket had also been directly related with the uncontrolled marketing of gold and diamonds, the prices of which trebled the official exchange rate. With the formation of the GGDO and the insistence that gold and diamonds be marketed at realistic prices, it will be possible for gold and diamond exporters to surrender their foreign exchange to the Central Bank without accruing huge losses.

It is believed in some government circles that if the new policies are firmly implemented, the blackmarket will fall down to the official level of Le 6 to the Dollar by May this year.

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CSO: 3400/1041

SOMALIA

BRIEFS

SNM FORCES LAUNCH ATTACKS--SNM [Somali National Movement] fighters killed 12 and wounded 17 loyalist Barre soldiers at (Wadamogo) between Burao and Aynaba on 14 January, according to reports from the northern wing of the SNM liberation forces. Two SNM fighters were wounded in the encounter. Further reports from Burao say SNM combatants attacked a car on the road to Shaykh from Burao. The car belonged to the armed forces of the Siad regime and the attack was carried out on 25 January this year. Two officers who were in the car were killed. In another development, the daring fighters of the SNM blew up a military vehicle belonging to the Siad forces on the road between Hargeisa and Burao; five men, two of whom were officers, were killed in the explosion which occurred on 27 January this year.

[Text] [(clandestine) Radio Halgan in Somali to Somalia 1700 GMT 1 Feb 86 EA]
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CSO: 3400/1032

SWAZILAND

5 DETAINEES RELEASED, FARDONED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 3 Jan 86 pp 7, 8

[Text]

MBABANE — Five prominent Swazis who had been held in detention without trial for about a year were escorted back to their homes by police on New Year's Day after a surprise announcement the night before that they were to be released.

They are former Finance Minister Sishayi Nxumalo, former Police Commissioner Titus Msibi, former Deputy Police Commissioner Edgar Hillary, the former Army Commander, Colonel Mangomeni Ndzimandze, and a senior army officer, Major Abednego Dlamini.

The announcement of their release was made at the official residence of Swaziland's next king, Crown Prince Makhosetive, at a meeting attended by the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekiziphi, and other prominent officials as well as the detainees themselves.

The five were all dismissed from their jobs last year without explanation and later detained.

Police later said they were to be accused of high treason but no formal charges were ever laid. It is reliably under-

stood here that the prosecution had difficulty in finding evidence to support high treason charges.

Three of the men, Mr Nxumalo, Mr Msibi and Colonel Ndzimandze, were in tears as the announcement was made while the other two were outwardly calm and unsmiling.

Prime Minister Bhekiziphi said the decision by Queen Regent Ntombi to release them was a sign of her forgiving spirit.

Observers here noted that there was no suggestion in the announcement that the five were exonerated of any accusations made against them. The suggestion was rather that they had been pardoned.

Pardon

All five are reliably reported to have been resisting release on the basis of a pardon and to have been insisting on a public exoneration. The government is believed to have been looking for a way of freeing the men without loss of face but appears to have been unable to find a suitable formula.

Observers here suggest the detainees' have now accepted a pardon

because they have given up hope of being released otherwise.

In his speech the prime minister advised the men to go home and "keep quiet".

The fact that the announcement of their release was made at the crown prince's future palace is seen as an indication that it was he who insisted on the men being freed.

The case of the detainees was taken up by Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organisation, which described Mr Nxumalo as a political prisoner and demanded his release. It said the others were probably political prisoners and should be tried or freed.

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CSO: 3400/1027

SWAZILAND

REFUGEES' FATE UNCERTAIN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jan 86 p 11

[Text] MBABANE. — The fate of several thousand refugees in Swaziland could depend on whether the tri-partite refugee agreement between the Swaziland Government, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the world Lutheran Foundation is renewed.

Under the agreement, which expired last December, Swaziland received more than R500 000 a year towards the running of refugee settlements in the country.

The acting UNHCR representative in Mbabane, Mrs Francesca Okeya, was yesterday quoted as saying that the Swaziland Government had had to ask for an extension of the agreement because of "unenvisioned circumstances" resulting from the ongoing heavy influx of refugees from Mozambique.

She said if an extension of the agreement was granted, which was likely, it would no doubt be only a very short term in effect.

In the meantime the Swaziland police this week rounded up and forcibly moved more than 40 Mozambicans back to their own country. The police public relations officer, Assistant Superintendent Solly Nkhonta, has confirmed that the Mozambicans were rounded up during recent police raids.

He said that they were found to be illegal immigrants and were escorted by the police back to Lomahasha border gate where they were handed over to the Mozambican authorities.

When Mrs Okeya was contacted by reporters, she said that she was "concerned" that her office had not been informed beforehand by police about the action.

A senior police official at Mbabane police headquarters said the ongoing raids and rounding up of Mozambicans was intended purely to rid the country of illegal immigrants, many of whom were troublesome and engaged in criminal activities. — Sapa.

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CSO: 3400/1026

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

DEBT BURDEN SOLUTION SOUGHT--Arusha, (Tanzania), 4 Feb (SHIHATA/PANA)--
Tanzania has called upon the international community to find a solution
to the debt burden of developing countries. Opening the week-long
Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (AALCC) annual congress in the
northern town of Arusha yesterday, the Tanzanian prime minister, Mr Joseph
Warioba, said "the debt burden is very important to us because the Third
World is overburdened with debt owing to the developed countries."
Mr Warioba said Africa alone owes nearly 170 billion U.S. dollars. "This
is a staggering figure for a continent which is struggling so hard for
development in such adverse circumstances", he said. Mr Warioba said the
debt burden was not a question of not fulfilling commitments but that of
priorities. "Should we let people go without food, medicine, education and
other basic needs, so that we may pay our creditors or should we postpone
debt payment until such time as we have the ability to pay?" he asked. We
cannot, he said, in the medium and long run, service debts as contracted
and at the same time enjoy growth in per capita incomes. The prime minister
urged the AALCC to elaborate on the preliminary study prepared following
the Katmandu decision to include the debt problem on the AALCC work program.
[Text] [Dakar PANA in English 0910 GMT 4 Feb 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 3400/1032

ZAIRE

BUDGET VIEWED FROM PERSPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Nov 85 p 8

[Text] Last Thursday, 1st State Commissioner Kengo Wa Dondo submitted the draft budget for 1986 to the Legislative Council. It is framed within the beginnings of the country's renewed economy growth and designed to stimulate economic recovery while safeguarding the achievements of the policy of stabilization, which was applied in the past 3 years with the help of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

To provide the proper conditions for economic recovery, the Executive Council needed first of all to rehabilitate the Zairian economy. It therefore adopted a policy of retrenchment and austerity, which was courageously endorsed by the Zairian people.

The process of economic recovery will begin in 1986 and have an effect on the improvement of living conditions for the Zairian people. The Executive Council will therefore not neglect the social aspect in the course of fiscal 1986.

The Policy of Stabilization Prior to Economic Recovery

For almost 3 years now, the Executive Council has pursued a policy of stabilization, marked by the implementation, with IMF help, of programs for economic and financial adjustment. The objective of these programs was the transfer of resources to the sectors of production and exports by means of the restoration of a balanced budget and a healthy balance of payments as well as currency adjustments.

Application of these programs of adjustment enabled Zaire to restructure its foreign debts and to rehabilitate the economy which had featured shortages caused by import rationing, a quota system, speculation, inflation and a large variety of exchange rates.

Cooperation with the IMF within the framework of the policy of stabilization gave rise to renewed confidence among public and private foreign partners, and this made possible the resumption of aid and loans to Zaire.

Thanks to a rigorous management policy conducted in the past 30 months with IMF backing, Zaire has been able not only to pay off almost U.S.\$1.62 billion

of its foreign debt and finance charges but also to obtain a substantial restructuring of its foreign debt. This restructuring has permitted Zaire to suspend payment of \$834 million in 1984-1985.

Zairian debt repayment has been an important factor in the restoration of the Zairian state's credit standing. By respecting its commitments in regard to its debts, Zaire recovered that confidence of the international market, which it was close to losing.

Taking into account these results of a first adjustment program which ended on 31 March 1985 and achieved the fundamental objectives defined by the head of government, a second 12-months program was agreed with the IMF on 24 April 1985 to consolidate the progress realized by the earlier program.

This program provides for the beginnings of economic revival within the framework of austerity, in other words while maintaining the free convertibility of the currency. Domestic production in the private sector is to be stimulated by the expansion of credit while inflation is to be kept down by reducing government borrowing from the banks and significantly lowering the current foreign deficit.

The improvement of the government's domestic credibility has resulted in a strong rise in private savings by means of treasury bonds. Their total amount achieved 61.7 million zaire in 1984.

The volume of investments earmarked for the benefit of the investment code recorded remarkable advances in the first 6 months, amounting to U.S.\$111 million, 54 percent of which was of foreign origin, compared with \$64 million for all of 1984.

About 4,210 jobs expected to result from these investments, 4,130 for Zairians, 80 for foreigners.

Very encouraging signs at the foreign level have been the restoration of credit insurance facilities in countries such as Belgium, France and the FRG, the decision by the World Bank to grant Zaire a loan of \$550, spread over the next 3 years on quick withdrawal terms, and the new credit line granted by the Belgian National Bank.

Program of Economic Revival and Social Improvement

Having done well with its policy of stabilization, the Executive Council envisions the establishment and implementation in 1986 of a program of economic revival. The concern with revival has been expressed since 1983 by focusing on an interim plan for economic rehabilitation (PRINT) which is to be the starting point of recovery.

In fact, PRINT aims at checking the worst damage, consolidating the financial rehabilitation and improving social conditions by the growth of employment and the increased purchasing power of the general public.

The restoration of the government's credibility and the renewed confidence of the various foreign partners are trump cards which permit us to look forward to the recovery with all optimism, at least to the extent that our country hopes to receive from its partners a substantial financial contribution in the shape of public and private capital for financing various investment projects.

By creating new jobs, these investments will exert a direct effect on the growth of the gross national product, the incomes and purchasing power of the workers.

The Executive Council policy will therefore be concerned with that issue: To favor investments in order to safeguard economic growth and raise the general public's purchasing power.

Indeed, when the 1st State Commissioner last week introduced the draft 1986 budget in the Legislative Council, social aspects took pride of place. The 1986 fiscal year actually coincides with the 2d year of the 3rd 7-year term of the president and founder of the MPR, which was designated the social 7-year term.

As the welfare of the Zairian people is the first concern of the head of state, the Executive Council will continue to pursue these actions in 1986, with a view of responding to the directives of Marshal Mobutu as expressed in his speech of 5 December 1984. He had asked that "salaries be made to conform with the cost of living, disparities in salaries among our citizens gradually abolished, and disparities between salaries paid our citizens and strangers reduced."

The Executive Council is therefore conducting inquiries about the relation between purchasing power and family budgets, normal salaries and guaranteed minimum wages (Smig).

The preparatory work ordered by the 1st State Commissioner with a view to the states general of the social partners, summoned by the president of the republic, has yielded some ideas on the problems of wage and revenue policy, employment and costs in our commercial firms. The Executive Council is about to evaluate these ideas in order to get going a dynamic social policy.

As regards public health, reforms are now of being introduced in the structures required to apply the official policy with regard to primary health. The national council of health and welfare started operations in July 1985, and the directorate of primary health care is in the process of revival as well as the FONAMES [National Medical and Social Fund].

Moreover, at the personal instructions of the head of state, construction of a hospital with more than 500 beds will begin in Kinshasa in 1986 to help relieve the congestion at Mama Yemo Hospital.

The Executive Council has also just stopped the housing policy project which will be the topic of debate in the party's central committee. This policy will take shape as an outline law designed to regulate the real estate

market and put an end to landlord speculation. Furthermore, the Executive Council is studying the establishment of a national housing fund to help the less well-off acquire real property.

The Executive Council does not advocate growth for growth's sake but growth accompanied by social improvements for the people. Economic revival is not an end in itself either but a means to increase social welfare.

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CSO: 3419/122

SOUTH AFRICA

TUTU'S SUPPORT OF ANC MAY MAR CHANCE OF ELECTION TO ARCHBISHOP

Anglican Elective Assembly to Meet

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jan 86 p 3

Article by Brian Stuart

Text Cape Town -- Bishop Desmond Tutu's chances of election as the new Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town are said to have "declined sharply" in the wake of his latest statements in support of the ANC.

The Anglican Elective Assembly meets in Cape Town on April 14 to elect a successor to Archbishop Philip Russell, and there has been some support for Bishop Tutu's nomination.

However, opposition to him has amounted in the diocese over his attitude to the ANC.

Cape Town, an Anglican Archdiocese, is particularly sensitive to issues which are seen as divisive in the life of the Church. The diocese has tended to seek "mediators", particularly since the days when Dutch-born Archbishop Joost de Blank's abrasive style brought tension within the Church.

Involvement

THE CITIZEN was told that while the Cape Town diocese has taken a very strong anti-apartheid line, Bishop Tutu now appears to be too deeply involved in politics to be seen as "Father in God" to the Anglican communion throughout Southern Africa.

Support has shifted to two other candidates, Bishop Michael Nuttall of Natal; who was formerly Bishop of Pretoria, and Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, former rector of the independent St John's Parish in Wynburg, Cape.

The leading Black candidate would now seem to be Father Winston Ndungane, Rector of St Bede's College, an Anglican theological college, who is a Cape Town man. Although in canonical law any Anglican priest is eligible for election, his election would establish a new precedent in that the diocese has always sought a man with episcopal experience.

Ex-Cape Town

Among Coloured clergy, there is said to be some support for Bishop George Swartz, Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, who was formerly bishop-suffragan of Cape Town.

Both Coloured and White clergy canvassed by THE CITIZEN yesterday said that Bishop Tutu was now "totally out of the question" as Cape Town's new archbishop.

"We need a man who is totally committed to ending apartheid because it is heresy in fundamental opposition to the Christian faith. But he must stand outside and above politics as such," a clergyman told THE CITIZEN.

Buthelezi Comments on Tutu's Statements

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] Bishop Desmond Tutu's call on the West to support the banned African National Congress (ANC) was a "recipe for violence," the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from an overseas visit to England, France and Denmark, Chief Buthelezi said: "For a Bishop of the church to single out one particular group, which he supports himself as the one he anoints as the only effective voice of Black people is extremely divisive."

He said he found it sad and incomprehensible that Bishop Tutu, as a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, should say something which could only "fan the flames" of Black-on-Black violence.

"The Bishop knows that more and more people will be killed if one organisation is foisted on the rest of the people," said Mr Buthelezi.

He did not believe that the ANC can succeed in spreading revolution unless a sizeable proportion of the Black population was committed to it.

"The Black population of South Africa is very, very angry, as much as I am angry too, but at the same time I don't think they have made their decision to take that last leap towards violence," explained the Chief Minister.

He said that throughout the history of mankind, people have only resorted to violence when they have "felt they have turned over every leaf towards non-violent change."

Chief Buthelezi said he did not condemn the ANC for its strategy of violence because, if he was in exile, he might also resort to the same thing. However, he stressed that the time for violence had not yet arrived and that Blacks did not stand a chance of succeeding in their struggle because of the regime's military strength.

"At this point in time, purely in terms of logistics, it is not possible to stage a war against the regime and succeed . . . this could result in another Blood River."

He said that this did not mean that if fighting was foisted on Blacks, that they would not fight. "We are not cowards. In the veins of some of us courses the blood of warriors."

Chief Buthelezi said that as head of Inkatha he would hate to see 100,000 youths slaughtered in an armed struggle. "I am not prepared to do it, it's not responsible."

He said he had told people overseas that when the time for fighting was right, he would be the first to go into the bush.

Asked what he expected from President P.W. Botha when he opened Parliament next Friday, Mr Buthelezi said he would like Mr Botha to announce that there would be one government for all the people in the country.

Anglican 'Can't Refute Tutu'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jan 86 p 1

Text A group calling itself Anglicans Concerned with True Spirituality (ACTS) has no authority to form a special synod to make Bishop Desmond Tutu answerable for statements made during his current tour of the United States, according to a spokesman for the Johannesburg diocese.

The group's intention was declared in an Afrikaans morning newspaper yesterday.

"Theirs is more an emotional reaction than an intellectual one," said Canon Norman Luyt of the Bishop's Johannesburg diocese, explaining that the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa would not permit the formation of such a body.

Reacting to the group's intention to monitor the way in which almost R1-million raised by the Bishop in the United States would be spent, Canon Luyt said money raised by the church was treated as trust money and therefore anybody had access to the accounts.

Canon Luyt said ACTS' statement showed "an appalling ignorance" of the way in which the church ran its financial affairs.

Tutu Said Not to Reflect Black Sentiments

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jan 86 p 3

Text United Christian Action (UCA), a grouping of traditional conservative Christians from all denominations, says Bishop Desmond Tutu does not reflect the sentiments of the Black population of South Africa.

"He does not speak for the Reformed Independent Churches Association with a membership of more than four million Blacks over the age of 16; he does not speak for the Zio Christian Church which has a membership of six million Blacks; he does not speak for the Zulu nation, whose chief has repeatedly rejected the ANC as being a terrorist organisation.

"Bishop Tutu has been intimately involved with the ANC for several years. He had admitted that he meets Oliver Tambo regularly and has openly stated that he regards Nelson Mandela as his leader.

"The ANC is committed to an armed struggle, which is something a Christian can never support. They have caused death and destruction in the townships -- Black brothers fight against Black brothers. Their aim is to establish a one-party Marxist dictatorship in South Africa and destroy Christianity.

"Bishop Tutu treats with contempt all the efforts that are being made to restore peace in our country. Our Black brothers want peace and freedom through the love of God. They do not want the peace of the graveyard that has become a way of life in so many African states to the north of us."

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CSO: 3400/1003

SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO EXPELS PE 'LEADER' MAQINA

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 19 Jan 86 p 1

Article by Mono Badela

[Text] The man who was directly responsible for last year's Azanian People's Organisation-United Democratic Front clashes has been expelled from Azapo.

And, says Azapo president Saths Cooper, self-styled priest "reverend" Mzwandile Maqina -- expelled for breaching Azapo's code of conduct -- was never even an official of the organisation.

Maqina, head of the Port Elizabeth vigilante group Roots, led Azapo members in their bloody clashes with UDF supporters in PE townships last year in which more than a dozen people died -- clashes which led to confrontations between the two organisations throughout the country.

And on Wednesday -- just days after his expulsion -- Maqina gave evidence for the State in a case involving a UDF activist who allegedly threw a hand grenade at Maqina's New Brighton home.

The decision to expel Maqina was taken by Azapo's Eastern Cape executive, Cooper told City Press. And he said that, although Maqina had acted as PE leader and spokesman for Azapo, he had never been an office-bearer.

He said Maqina's expulsion would be discussed at an Azapo central committee to be held soon.

An ex-teacher, playwright and former political detainee, Maqina shot into prominence when he founded the iBandla LikaNtu Church in New Brighton and Roots.

As self-proclaimed "Azapo leader" in PE, he vehemently opposed PE's highly-successful March 15-18 Black Weekend stayaway and school boycott. This action started the UDF-Azapo confrontations -- the USD-affiliated PE Civic Association and the now-banned Congress of SA Students had organised the Black Weekend.

Unconfirmed reports from PE say Maqina is blaming a group of "young Indians" in Azapo for his expulsion, and has told colleagues "the power struggle in Azapo" had forced him out. Maqina was not available for comment this week.

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CSO: 3400/1002

SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO ISSUES WARNING TO MEMBERS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 23 Jan 86 p 7

Text The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday warned that it will take strong action against members who "testify in courts of law against fellow blacks."

It also warned members, particularly those in the eastern Cape, who are continuing the strife between them and the United Democratic Front.

Publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said this after a Press conference held in Port Elizabeth yesterday where he was giving the organisation reasons for sacking the Reverend Mzwandile Maqina.

Mr Maqina, who was an executive member of the organisation in the eastern Cape, was sacked this weekend for "serious disciplinary infractions," according to Mr Myeza.

Mr Myeza did not specify.

He said Azapo was worried about the situation in the Eastern Cape between Azapo and the UDF, and "shall not tolerate those who do not adhere to the organisation's code of conduct.

'Strife'

"Azapo is going to do everything in its power to resolve the situation. We cannot afford to have the strife between our organisations," Mr Myeza said.

He said Azapo is presently engaged in efforts to meet with the local eastern Cape UDF leadership where the following points shall be discussed:

--To work together on points where there is agreements.

--Where there is disagreement to work towards solving the disagreement.

He said Azapo was extending its hand of friendship to the UDF and "this must not be taken as a sign of weakness but as a sign of concern".

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CSO: 3400/1002

SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO OPPOSES BLACKS IN WHITE HOSPITALS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Jan 86 p 3

[Text] The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday said the use of trained senior black nursing staff in white hospitals was unacceptable.

Azapo's health secretariat, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, said: "Only when discrimination has been totally eliminated from our health services would we be prepared to give such a move our blessing."

He said the black nurses were being used by the white hospitals now because of an acute shortage of white nurses.

His response follows an announcement last week that the white Pretoria hospital, H. F. Verwoerd Hospital named after the architect of apartheid, had hired trained black nurses. The white Johannesburg hospital started the trend by taking 36 senior black nurses onto its staff last year.

Among these, 16 were "borrowed" from Baragwanath Hospital.

The move has been praised by white and black readers of a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper with the common concern, equal payment for equal work. It is understood that blacks entering the profession are paid between 10 to 15 percent less than their white counterparts. Whites also have proper training facilities.

(177)1
CIO: 24/01/1982

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK BUSINESSMEN HAVE MIXED REACTION TO OPEN CBDS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] Black businessmen yesterday greeted the announcement that Johannesburg's central business district would be open to all races with mixed feelings.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced in Cape Town yesterday that the Johannesburg CBD will this week be proclaimed a free trading area.

He said there were more than 50 applications from other municipalities for similar status which are being speeded up for approval within the next few weeks.

"The opening of CBDs in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town will be announced any day now while other centres will follow soon, Mr Heunis said.

He gave no specific dates but it is reliably understood that Johannesburg's CBD will be proclaimed a free trading zone this week.

Mr Richard Maponya, top businessman in Soweto and race horse owner said: "This is long overdue."

"Black people should take this opportunity to prove that we can compete with other races. For too long we were denied this right and it is only now that it has been given in.

"We must also be afforded opportunities of being given financial assistance. No discrimination whatsoever should be practised when we go to ask for financial assistance. Time has come for us blacks to mobilise our buying power even in the CBD's. We must try and support our black businesses everywhere," Mr Maponya said.

He added: "We are going to be competitive in the CBD's. Black people should not only support us on sentiment. They must buy in the township when they find the prices are the same as those in town. This is exactly how the Afrikaner build himself into the country's mainstream economy."

Mr David Mailoane, spokesman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce said: "One cannot be fully thrilled with this move. This type of legislation was in the first place not supposed to have been there. It is the black sweat that has contributed to more than 50 percent of what Johannesburg is but blacks all along have not been allowed to trade there.

"It is the economic situation that is forcing them to take this decision. But one may welcome the move with reservations. It is also helping those whites who have moved to the suburbs to either sell or rent their offices which are turning into white elephants," he said.

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CSO: 3400/1002

SOUTH AFRICA

RELIEF FUND SET UP BY SOWETO BUSINESS FOR RESIDENTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 Jan 86 p 4

Text A Relief Fund has been established by the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry to assist unrest victims and their families and to promote employment among the Black people living in Soweto.

The fund has been launched to streamline "the prevailing chaotic situation" whereby various groups in Soweto have been calling on businessmen for donations for many different organisations and causes. The fund will incorporate all under one roof.

In addition to aiding unrest victims and unemployed persons, the fund will assist, materially and emotionally, welfare and education prospects for residents.

The establishment of the fund was announced yesterday at a Press conference by its president, Mr Makana Tshabalala.

"Although most of the donations being asked from Black businessmen have been for a just and worthy cause, there are unfortunately certain opportunists who have taken advantage of the situation for their own selfish ends," Mr Tshabalala said.

The fund was established because certain businessmen were being harrassed and victimised for showing misgivings to some of those requests. "This fund will place a curb on this disturbing trend," he said.

Mr Tshabalala said the fund would assist businessmen on a group level after the past two to three years had placed a number of these businesses on the brink of bankruptcy.

In the area of bolstering employment in Soweto, the chamber will honour those businessmen who employ students over weekends and school holidays.

The same will apply to any business person who employs more than five new employees during the year, either in a new business venture or in a existing one.

On the education front the chamber hopes to create a greater awareness among Black business-people to start providing bursaries to needy Black students.

The fund will have two kinds of members -- full members and associate members. Full members must have their head office in Soweto and must reside in the township.

Associate members would be any other business company or organisation not in Soweto. This would include White businesses interested in joining the fund.

Membership certificates and stickers will be given to members to be displayed in their shops or factories thus preventing other organisations from attempting to obtain funds from these people.

The fund will be officially launched at a meeting at the Funda Centre in Soweto on February 10 at 2 pm.

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CSO: 3400/1033

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC, CONVENTION MOVEMENT WANTS ALLIANCE TALKS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 19 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by David Breier]

[Text] The banned African National Congress (ANC) and the fledgling National Convention Movement (NCM) both say they want to talk to each other to form a broad front against apartheid.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka said this week that dialogue must first take place with the NCM before a decision can be taken on whether to form any broad front and whether such an arrangement should be formal or informal.

Mr Jules Browde, the chairman of the NCM management committee, said in Johannesburg he agreed that dialogue with the ANC was essential.

Mr Browde supports the ideal of a joint alliance to oppose apartheid.

According to the ANC spokesman, it has long called for co-operation with other bodies against the "apartheid Government".

This month the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, expanded this, calling on various sections of the anti-apartheid community, to work together.

These include trade unions, the business community and opposition political parties.

The NCM was founded late last year as an alliance against apartheid.

It shares the ANC's demands that all apartheid must be scrapped, political prisoners and detainees released and parties unbanned, before a negotiated settlement can be achieved.

But while the ANC uses violence, the NCM is non-violent.

The major participants in the NCM are the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha.

Both have withdrawn from the management committee to reduce their profile and attract United Democratic Front membership.

But the UDF has had nothing to do with the NCM and observers believe there is no prospect of co-operation unless the green light is given from Lusaka.

The NCM also includes a broad spectrum of other relatively moderate groups including business interests, homeland leaders and church leaders.

The ANC spokesman said there were standing differences between the ANC on the one hand and the PFP and Inkatha on the other.

Before there could be any co-operation on a broad front, there would have to be dialogue.

Any form of co-operation between the NCM and the ANC will be fraught with danger.

As the ANC is banned, it is illegal to promote its aims and objects. The NCM could face prosecution if it was seen to work in any way with the ANC.

But as the ANC is now expanding its armed struggle, it is unlikely to enter into any formal links with the NCM which is non-violent.

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CSO: 3400/1033

SOUTH AFRICA

LESOTHO EVENTS SEEN AS UNDERLINING ANC DOMINANCE

Johannesburg SOWETO in English 22 Jan 86 p 7

Text Coup in Lesotho has heavily underlined the degree to which the African National Congress dominates regional relationships in southern Africa.

Ever since Uhuru spread to the sub-continent, South Africa's relations with its neighbours have been tempered by their attitude to the ANC (in Angola's case its attitude to the South West African People's Organisation and, to a much lesser extent, the ANC).

In Mozambique, South Africa assisted the rebel Mozambique resistance movement in a successful attempt to force the Samora Machel government into the Nkomati mutual non-aggression pact.

MNR

While South Africa agreed to cease all help to the Mozambique National Movement (MNR), Mozambique agreed to expel ANC activists and to prevent the ANC from ever again using Mozambique as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

Following a series of accusations from Mozambique that South Africa was continuing its aid to the MNR, the vaunted Nkomati Accord appears to exist in name only.

Had it not been for the prospect that the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPIA) would help Swapo, South Africa would have been less eager to help Dr Jonas Savimbi's bid for power in Angola in 1975. And had the MPIA Government in Luanda not given massive facilities to Swapo, Dr Savimbi would have been much leaner militarily than he now is.

It is also possible that the Namibian issue may have been settled.

The Lusaka Agreement of 1984 laid down that Angola would keep Swapo out of a specified area in southern Angola while the South Africans agreed to pull their troops out of the same area.

Ironically, despite all the propaganda from Angola, the Lusaka Agreement is more adhered to than breached.

South Africa has few problems with Swaziland, which does everything within its limited powers (as much for its own political purposes as for South Africa's) to keep ANC activists from using facilities in the country.

Botswana has claimed repeatedly that it does not allow the ANC to use its territory to plan or launch attacks on South Africa, but the South African Defence Force, nevertheless, crossed the border on June 14 last year for a raid on Gaborone in which 12 people were killed and six were injured.

Tension between the two countries has flared over the last few weeks following the land-mine explosions in the northern Transvaal and Mr Pik Botha's warning that South Africa would exercise its right to take whatever action it deemed necessary to protect its citizens' lives and property.

The less than warm relationship with Zimbabwe also cooled dramatically over the same issue.

While both Botswana and Zimbabwe denied that they had encouraged the ANC or allowed the ANC to cross their territory to lay the mines in the northern Transvaal, the South African Government remains suspicious--and, with every landmine explosion, it comes under increasing pressure to strike back.

The real problem, however, developed in Lesotho where Chief Leabua Jonathan's Government allegedly looked the other way while the ANC effectively transferred its main operations base against South Africa from Maputo to Maseru.

In December 1982, South Africa had sent its defence force into Maseru to clean out what South Africa believed to be an ANC strong-hold. A total of 43 people were killed and a number injured.

Now, towards the end of 1985, South Africa was ready to act again.

When the Jonathan Government failed to "address South African concerns" over the ANC presence in the country, South Africa intensified its security measures on the common border -- and reduced the flow of goods into and out of Lesotho to a trickle.

And this triggered the military coup.

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CSO: 3400/1033

SOUTH AFRICA

~~WHITE~~AN RESIDENTS PAY HIGHER RATES THAN THOSE IN WHITE TOWNSHIPS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 24-30 Jan 86 p 1

Article by Sefako Nyaka: "Move Out to Inanda (It's Cheaper Than in Soweto)"

Text Blacks in Soweto pay more in rates than residents of neighbouring white municipalities.

In Soweto's Jabulani township, residents pay 81 times more in rates per rand of land valuation than residents in the luxury white suburb of Inanda in Sandton.

For a Jabulani house, valued at R439, a resident pays annual rates of R3,921.

The assessment rate for an Inanda home, valued at R133,800, is R2,200. With a rebate of 55 percent, the resident ends up paying R1,000.

This means that Inanda residents pay 1,15c in the rand, while their Soweto counterparts pay 93,27c.

Land is valued in almost all the areas administered by the Soweto and Diepmeadow councils at R1,50 per square metre. Allowing for a 1,000 percent increase to R15 per square metre, the residents there would still be paying a far higher percentage of land value in rates than the residents of any white suburb.

Speaking for the Soweto Civic Association, Issac Mogase said the association has been aware of this anomaly and has been working on it, conducting an intensive study, after which the group hoped to confront the West Rand Development Board.

The Azanian People's Organisation Publicity Secretary, Muntu Myeza, said the survey revealed "a very interesting aspect of exploitation of the black people in the South African community as a whole."

"Exploitation of the people in this form, in the very land to which they belong, is a conclusive indicator of prejudicial racial oppression."

Township householders pay a monthly sum to their local council. It is generally referred to as "rent". The "site rent" is the portion of that payment which continues to be payable when the house has been bought under the 99-year leasehold and house rent has fallen away.

When freehold replaces leasehold in the black townships, the name of these municipal dues ought to change to "rates".

An official of the West Rand Development Board said last November that if the 99-year leasehold becomes freehold it will make no difference to the amount paid by the householder.

"We will even use the same documents and forms. We may have to change the odd word. It's a technicality, a name, that's all."

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C30: 3400/1033

SOUTH AFRICA

RADIO FREEDOM COMMENTARY REJECTS BOTHA'S REFORMS

!B052026 Lusaka Radio Freedom in Zulu 1700 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] Whatever the Boer regime does on a daily contingency basis, there is one immutable truth that remains: It is only our campaign for freedom that will be our salvation. The struggle has to be pursued with a multifaceted intensified approach. It is this information that needs to be disseminated widely among our people. This is the only way to freedom. What makes us stress this point now is the fact that among our ranks, elements that are urging a rethinking of our strategy in view of Botha's recent announcements may exist.

The contents of Botha's address to parliament last Friday are already known to us. Botha promised the oppressed people many great things! He pointed out that the Afrikaners now accept the fact that South Africa belongs to all the people of that country. By saying so, he abrogated the old Afrikaner credo that Africans are permanent sojourners in South Africa. Concerning the future political dispensation for South Africa, Botha promised that we shall all govern through a cooperative arrangement in powersharing. This arrangement is in line with the Nationalist Party's view that South Africa is composed of many different nations, which need to arrive at some formula for political powersharing.

This philosophy may pose a great danger to some of our people because some of them are not used to effective and clear political analysis. Those who applaud Botha's remarks say: Well, we are going to have equal rights on par with whites so the liberation war is no longer essential. This is really not true at all! The war of liberation is the only genuine instrument for attaining freedom in South Africa. What Botha has promised the oppressed African majority is not true freedom. It is Botha's ploy to deviate some of our people from the true path to real freedom.

Botha's announcement that South Africa is going to belong to all its inhabitants without racial discrimination does not meet the standards of our definition. When we say: South Africa belongs to all its peoples,

we mean that on acceptance of that principle, the future of South Africa will lie in the hands of the majority inhabitants of the country. The country will be governed according to the wishes of the majority. Botha's dispensation, right now, is meant to benefit Botha, himself, and his African quislings such as Gatsha Buthelezi, Kaiser Matanzima, and others that are incorporated in African urban councils. These people are Botha's puppets incapable of criticizing Botha, let alone having an open debate with him! They are just his yes men.

Therefore, we should realize that Botha wants a South Africa that serves himself and his quislings. He is not interested in South Africa being a country for all its inhabitants, especially the African majority. In view of this fact, we should have nothing to do with Botha's schemes abetted by his quislings. But, we should continue the fight for a South Africa that will be governed by us, the majority of the oppressed people, who at the present time are dismissed as irrelevant. This is why we contend that what is happening in South Africa today reaffirms the plain truth that our armed struggle is the only salvation and hope for achieving true freedom in that country. Other measures effected by either the Boer parliament or Botha and his quislings will be of no avail.

Botha has just tinkered with apartheid. He has not really indicated any substantive changes because he is determined to use the ruthless might of his government to suppress any sign of opposition to his policy among the African people. However, the continued African resistance campaign against apartheid that has unrelentingly raged in South Africa for the past 18 months clearly demonstrates to Botha that the brute force of the SADF and the SAP will not alone be able to contain the situation. Other methods are now being tried to undermine the African's determination to achieve true freedom.

The Afrikaners, in their resolve to preserve their privileged position, are responding in unexpected ways. Sometimes, they resort to brute force on the slightest provocation, and at other times drum up some fairy tale such as the one we have just heard amplified in Botha's speech to parliament. We have never slackened the pursuit of our liberation war despite Botha's harsh reprisals using the naked force of his troops, and even his recent announcement will not help blunt the thrust of the ongoing struggle.

Botha also announced other new measures affecting Africans. There are many people who are going to rejoice at the news that effective 1 July, the pass laws and the strict influx control regulations will no longer be in effect in South Africa. Botha's remarks deserve a thorough examination. He did not clearly specify how he was going to fill the void created by the scrapping of these troublesome laws. He merely announced the introduction of a new uniform identity document for all races. However, he also observed that there will be measures to ensure that African urbanization proceeded in an orderly fashion. Botha still owes us

an extensive explanation on this new uniform identity document. It is still possible that we may still suffer discrimination under this dispensation.

Botha is telling a blatant lie when he says the age-old apartheid system that has been a characteristic of all settler governments since white arrival in South Africa--only given legal status since 1948--is now antiquated and on its way out. The truth of the matter is that since Botha has rejected the principle of majority rule, he is still firmly entrenched in the apartheid system. If Botha still has a right to prescribe to us, while we remain powerless to make decisions, that means the ancient Afrikaner philosophy is still being observed. If Botha wants change, he cannot do it alone with his Afrikanerdom, but he will have to come to us for remedial measures that will be in accordance with our objectives on the future of South Africa.

Right now, we must vigorously pursue the war of liberation. The ANC has already indicated that it will continue with its planned program of action despite the Afrikaners' new overtures. We would also do the same and continue with our campaign as oppressed people. Our armed struggle is the only means to ensure our survival, and these sham reforms to oppressive laws are meaningless.

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CSO: 3400/1030

SOUTH AFRICA

DPSC SAYS POLICE DETAIN 11,000 IN 1985

MB051644 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1346 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Feb 5, SAPA--Police detained almost 11,000 people during 1985 and arrested an estimated 25,000 on charges relating to political unrest, the Detainees Parents Support Committee [DPSC] said today.

About 25,000 were arrested on charges such as public violence, malicious damage to property, arson and intimidation, the DPSC said, adding that "there is no way of knowing how many of those arrested were actually brought to trial or the outcome."

A total of 3,737 people were detained in South Africa and the national states under security legislation last year.

Another 7,361 were detained in terms of emergency regulations since the state of emergency was imposed on July 21 last year, bringing the total number of detentions to 10,998.

By the end of January there were 629 people still in detention--294 under security legislation and another 335 under emergency regulations.

Thirteen people "arrested under circumstances appearing to be politically related" died in police custody, the DPSC said. Inquests relating to several of these deaths were in progress, it added.

The SAP detained a total of 1,484 people in terms of security legislation. Another 1,953 were detained in the national states of Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana last year.

Transkei held the highest total of detainees under security legislation in 1985--1,848 people. Detentions in the Transvaal totalled 262, followed by 197 in the western Cape.

There were 75 detentions under security legislation in the eastern Cape, but up to December 27 there were more detentions in terms of emergency regulations than in any other region--3,151, or 42.8 percent.

The Transvaal region had the next highest total--42.3 percent or 3,117 detentions under emergency regulations.

In the western Cape there were 1,093 detentions in terms of the emergency regulations, the DPSC said.

The committee said an analysis of known detainees had shown that the main targets of detention were community and political workers, scholars, students, and teachers.

These groups account for more than half the known detainees, "with the prime targets undoubtedly being the leadership of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates and also the membership of the Congress of South African Students up to the time of its banning" last year.

Fifty-nine persons were banned under emergency regulations--53 of them in Cape Town. Ten persons were banned under the security legislation by the last year.

There were also an "extraordinary range of gatherings and activities" banned or controlled last year, including indoor political meetings, concerts, funerals, commemorations, conferences, carol services and a fun run, the DPSC said.

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CSO: 3400/1030

SOUTH AFRICA

CONFLICT BETWEEN KTC GROUPS CAUSES VIOLENCE

MB062037 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1754 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 6 SAPA--KTC's squatter leader, Mr Oliver Memani, is apparently in hiding after a bitter conflict between rival community groups in which some of his opponents had their houses burnt down and were allegedly abducted and threatened with death.

Mr Gladstone Ntamo, a committee member of the 21-member Transkei United Club, which promotes self-help in KTC, today said he and other opponents of Mr Memani had been almost killed last week by Memani supporters.

This was confirmed by Mr Zenzile Memani, a supporter of the Transkei United Club and a brother of Mr Oliver Memani.

Mr Ntamo said the reason for this was that "Mr Memani has accused our group of threatening his position in the community."

The Transkei United Club was formed last December. Mr Ntamo said many KTC residents had since changed their allegiance from Mr Memani to the club.

Mr Ntamo said last Monday he had been abducted from his house in KTC by a mob of 300 people led by Mr Memani. "Two other members of our committee had also been forced to go there. Mr Memani, his brother Wethu, and two of his men threatened us with guns."

Mr Ntamo said he and the other two had then been told they would be burnt alive. "We saw the tires and the petrol being prepared," he said. "But my wife had run for help. Police in a casspir arrived, and Mr Memani and his men quickly hid their guns. They told the police nothing was happening." "The police took us to safety, but the problem remained. Many houses were burnt that night. There is still much conflict between us and Mr Memani."

Mr Zenzile Memani said his brother had disappeared late last week. "But he will be back. There will be a lot more trouble when he returns."

Mr Ntamo said the Transkei United Club had no leader as it wished to make its decisions democratically.

SOUTH AFRICA

TELEVISION DISCUSSION OF BOTHA SPEECH, OPTIONS

MB041004 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 2 Feb 86

[Discussion with Tom Boya, mayor of Daveyton and vice president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa; Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce; and Tertius Myburgh, editor of the SUNDAY TIMES, in Johannesburg and Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundation in Cape Town, Moderated by John Bishop, with an introductory report narrated by Michelle Alexander, on the "Network" program--live with video insert]

[Text] [Bishop] Coming up an analysis of the state president's speech to parliament, but first a background report which places the reforms announced by the president in a wider perspective.

[Alexander] A complete break with the past and a new beginning are among the comments made by the state president, Mr Botha, in his opening of parliament speech on Friday. It appears to have been generally well received by the local and overseas media and leaders in various spheres. In his speech, Mr Botha was clear about the break with the past.

[Begin Botha video] We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid. [end video]

[Alexander] Mr Botha was also explicit about the principles that should guide the future of this country. They resolve around the vision of one South African nation in an unidivided country replacing the former grand design of partitioning into politically autonomous units. The guidelines announced on Friday can be seen against a recent policy reversal. The following statements were made by Mr Botha last year on different political platforms. During last year's opening of parliament speech, Mr Botha said that permanence of blacks outside the national and independent states is recognized. They must be given political rights at the highest level on matters of common concern. This statement by Mr Botha completely crossed out the so-called linking policy, which prescribed that all black political rights had to be exercised in some national state. He further stated that the government is in favor of participation of all population groups in a central political process

without one domination over the other--participation without domination. He also stated that the government is prepared to share its decisionmaking power with other communities and that this was accepted National Party [NP] policy. Not only blacks living permanently outside the national and independent state would have South African citizenship, South African citizenship would also be restored to those residing in South Africa who had lost when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, and Venda became independent. On Friday, Mr Botha announced that legislation to this effect would be passed later this year. Restoration of South African citizenship would also be considered for citizens of independent states residing within these areas themselves. The president went on to say that his party was committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship, and universal franchise within democratic structures chosen by South Africans themselves.

Mr Botha also stated last Friday that the peoples of South Africa formed one nation--a nation of cultural minorities. South Africa's peoples would be accommodated in a central government on a geographical and group basis. This statement by Mr Botha at last year's NP conference in Port Elizabeth was widely interpreted as implying a federation with consociational elements, terms which, however, have not been explicitly used by Mr Botha himself. It would seem then that the end of the era of fragmentation has possibly arrived. In principle, the lines for the unification of South Africa as one nation have been drawn. This line can be graphically expressed as follows: Historically the central parliament of South Africa has been exclusively white. The implementation of the tricameral system, including Coloreds and Indians last year, was the first broadening of the country's democratic base across the color line since 1910. Now it would seem that the possibilities have been opened for the inclusion of black communities residing in South Africa, for those in the national states not opting for independence, and eventually also for those who have already chosen the road of independence. Reincorporation, of course, will be the free choice of these people, and finally in parliament representation on a group and geographical basis. On Friday and in previous statements Mr Botha has pledged the nature of this new South Africa to be democratic with participation by all its regions and communities, cooperative coexistence with no domination of one group over the other, with protection of minority rights which will replace the structure of separation. There will be equality of rights and opportunities with no racial discrimination, freedom and protection of not only group rights but also of individual rights. Mr Botha sailed close to the terminology of a bill of human rights when he stated on Friday: We believe in the sovereignty of law and equality before the law. We believe that human dignity, life, liberty, and property of all must be protected regardless of color, race, creed, or religion.

[Alexander continues] And finally the new South Africa will have unique structures decided upon by negotiation. Some social and political reforms have already been implemented. These include freehold rights for blacks, the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Political Interference Act, the creation of open central business districts, and the suspension of influx control. Among the new initiatives announced by Mr Botha on Friday is the creation of a National Statutory Council representing the South African Government, the national state and leaders of black communities and interest groups. The council will meet under the chairmanship of Mr Botha and will have the advisory power on matters of common concern including legislation, but Mr Botha has also indicated that it would eventually involve powersharing. Other reforms announced include the implementation this year of the first Regional Services Councils, where power will be shared between all the population albeit on a local level. The abolition of remaining influx control measures, the socioeconomic development of less developed areas, the stimulation of small business, and more equality in education--all these reforms can possibly be seen as steps towards a new united South Africa.

[Bishop] Well, Tertius Myburgh, you said a lot about the state president's speech in your newspaper today. I would like to ask you to start us off. Tell us, how profound an effect do you think his speech will have on the future of everybody in this country?

[Myburgh] You know, when the leader of the NP says that apartheid is outdated and moribund, takes double-page advertising space in newspapers throughout the country to say he is committed to institutionalized power (?sharing), something profoundly has changed in our society. I think it is folly and silly and mischievous to deny that. Only the wilfully perverse would do so.

[Bishop] Tom Boya, your reaction to the speech.

[Boya] My reaction to the speech by the state president of this country--he said quite a few significant things which I think are very important to the lives of black people, but I think he did not go well down enough. There is still a lot of clarification he has got to do. But what I want to say from the things which we see, (?he) has been positive. We would like to see these things implemented immediately so that we can see that he is really sincere in what he is saying.

[Bishop] Can I just ask you what are the things you need clarified?

[Boya] I think most important he has got to clarify the question of influx control, because I think influx control goes hand in hand with the Group Areas Act. So he hasn't said anything about the Group Areas Act, and in some ways we think that influx control is still going to be exercised. On education, he is talking of a system education--one unified system of education--but he doesn't say anything about mixed schools and,

of course, this is very important to us that children should actually start mixing from a early age so that they can be in a position to understand one another so that when they grow up they should be in a position to build the future for themselves.

[Bishop] We will come back to the educational business in a moment, but Raymond Parsons.

[Parsons] John, I would say that if I was to assess the business reaction it seems to have been three cheers for the state president because what businessmen have been saying for some time is that if we don't get the politics right in South Africa, we won't get the economics right and to do that we needed a clear and unambiguous statement of where the government stands on its reform intentions, on its reform program, and the road that it would like to follow, and I have the impression that the first reaction of South African business has been favorable. They feel this is an important first step to a vital parliamentary session. They also see that the road ahead is one of power sharing and not one of apartheid.

[Bishop] But in the light of what Mr Boya said, is it so clear and unambiguous?

[Parsons] I think that there are many aspects which are clear. There are some aspects that will have to be clarified. The important thing is that you have got to start somewhere. This is a good start, it is not a bad start. It is a good start and I think one must obviously add the [words indistinct] that a great deal will depend on the implementation of what has been stated not only on Friday but perhaps more importantly the basic focus which was given to a state president's views in the Sunday newspapers. I think that is equally important.

[Bishop] Jan Steyn, can we ask you to come in?

[Steyn] Yes, I think that if you look back over the past 18 months and you see what the black leadership and business leadership has urged the government to do, to draft as it were a reform agenda, and you see what the items were that they articulated, then I think the state president has identified many of those issues. Prominent black spokesmen have repeatedly said that influx control is a major affront to human dignity. It is the most vicious discriminating measure. They have urged the government to cease the forced removals of people. They have urged a single department of education. They have requested access to economic opportunities on an equal footing. What we have then is the articulation of that agenda, but I agree with Raymond Parsons. I think that it is an enormous challenge not only for government but for all South Africans and also for the private sector to ensure that real and rapid (?content) is given to the articulated reform agenda.

[Bishop] What about the Group Areas Act?

[Steyn] Well I don't know. Speaking for myself, I cannot see how one can say that apartheid is outmoded, outdated, and as Tertius has called it moribund, if you cling to a system that distinguishes between races in respect of their right to occupy residential property. You can't give freehold title to people and then place a racial curb upon their right to exercise that right which you give them. So I must accept that the Group Areas Act itself is a matter which is indeed negotiable.

[Parsons] John, isn't there also a part of the answer in regard to this question of the Group Areas Act that if you look at the conceptual framework of the speech the sort of value systems to which the state president has committed the government and South Africa, you can test various pieces of legislation with that value system and quite clearly this means that you will end up with a much longer agenda than the one which was stipulated in the speech or in the newspapers.

[Bishop] Tertius Myburgh, sharing of power--now there are obviously many dissenters. We have heard reports from overseas only this morning. The United Democratic Front [UDF]--they don't like the state president's speech. We can bet our bottom dollar that the ANC won't. Other groups in the country will think it is, what did the BBC man say: too little, too late. Now, how do you get together in a power sharing situation with this kind of dissent?

[Myburgh] I think the most (?flattering) reaction, in fact, to the state president's speech is that it has been condemned from all the appropriate quarters, from the neanderthal right and from the flaky left. They have objected to it which seems to me to suggest that the state president is doing something correct. On the sharing of power, to me one of the most important announcements he made was the statutory council. Now it is very very important to establish who was going to come into this council. I think that the state president has laid the table. There were no preconditions. It seems like an open-ended agenda. I don't think it is similar to some of the earlier propositions that were made and rejected. I think this is really going to be as much of a test of the proclaimed moderation of some eminent black leaders as it is of the state president himself because this council is going to be the key. It is the beginning, in fact, by any other name you might as well call it, the beginning of a national convention.

[Bishop] So if entry is by open-ended agenda, do you mean that this could be elected leaders and not necessarily appointed leaders, leaders appointed by the government?

[Myburgh] And even if you read the state president's statement there was even no proviso that you should eschew violence. In fact it would seem to me it would be open to all credible representatives of all population groups...

[Bishop, interrupting] Is that how it affected--sorry, Raymond--is that how it affected you, Tom?

[Boya] Yes, that is how. I think his very very important here, I think the time now has come for the state president to spell it very very clearly because blacks have been for a long time asking for the release of the detained leaders, those leaders who are in detention, people like Mr Nelson Mandela and many others, and of course I think this is the right time now for him to actually come out clearly and release these people so that they can come out and also the question of unbanning the organizations that are banned, there is no better time for the state president in doing that than now. If the state president can unban these organizations immediately and, of course, release those in detention and those who have been detained for a long time like Mr Nelson Mandela.

[Bishop] Regardless of the possibility of violence, i mean we are told the state of emergency is here to stop violence spreading.

[Boya] If the state president now releases these people, unbans the ANC, I don't think there is any cause of violence because then will... [changes thought] there will be a platform for us to talk.

[Parsons] John, I was going to say earlier that what the speech does is to create a new window of opportunity where one can shift the whole debate about the future of South Africa beyond the moral rhetoric. We can now focus just as much--more so than before--on the structures. We can talk about, we can debate, we can negotiate the structures, and I think this is one of the important things that this speech has done. I am sure Jan would agree...

[Bishop, interrupting] Jan, can you just come in on this? You have listened to quite a bit there?

[Steyn] I think it is very important for us to recognize the opportunities that have been created by the framework, by the tone and tenor, of the state president's address, but at the same time I have to agree with Tom Boya. It is very difficult for you to embark on a productive course of real reform in South Africa against a backdrop of a continuing state of emergency, and a situation which is in conflict with the recognition of the sovereignty of the law and access to the court. For that reason I believe that dramatic moves in respect of those principles will have to take place in order to counter the understandable skepticism and reserve that many black people have in the light of the past. But I want to say again that if we look at the success and I am sure that those members of organized commerce and industry who are listening this evening must listen with great pleasure when they see an announcement in the press that the pass laws are going to be abolished on the 1st of July. If you think of that--18 months ago when we set for ourselves that target, very few of them really believed that was possible and it shows you what

can be done by carefully planned, concerted reform alliances of people with a common interest, and I think that is really the most, for me, the most hopeful in the situation that real achievement through negotiation and through contacts with government, and with the involvement of black leadership is indeed possible.

[Parsons] I think this, John, is the answer which one must give to those who often criticize the participation of the private sector in the reform process. It often has been questioned as to why has business taken a stance on issues such as influx control, or some of the constitutional options, or on the state of emergency, and I think here we have proof that it is a necessary, it is a necessary involvement by business to help and to ensure that there are certain changes under way.

[Bishop] I don't want to nitpick gentlemen, but Jan Steyn just mentioned the abolition of the pass laws with delight, but reading through the papers, other papers have received it cynically. They have said that, really, we are getting a new identity document, so it is just another dompas [derogatory term for passbook] under the name. Tertius?

[Myburgh] Which is what is important. You know, I know this whole panel is in danger of ending up in sort of hallelujah chorus of praise for the state president. Which suggests that he actually did something right, between his speech on Friday and his advertising campaign today. We have had, I think, we have had the words and music now, but we really do need the performance. I think that the setting of a deadline for the removal of influx control gives us something to measure performance against. But I think that if this whole new South Africa, as the president calls it, is going to be credible, if he is going to be trusted, if people are going to come into the room to talk, as he has invited them, it really is going to depend on very very vigorous movement in changing laws and actually physically removing offensive discrimination as it does touch black South Africans.

[Bishop] Let me introduce an element of devil's advocacy for a moment. The ANC and, one presumes, the UDF want a unitary state, one man, one vote, and winner take all. Now, if that is--and one does not know--but if that is a positive desire among large masses of the people of South Africa, how on earth could you ever get into this special statutory council? I mean, how could it get off the ground?

[Myburgh] Nobody, John, surely, on either side of the two policies of South African political opinion, nobody is going to be perfectly satisfied. The ANC is not going to get what it wishes for itself. I do not think...

[Bishop, interrupting] Then would it go anywhere near it? I mean, would it not contain violence?

[Myburgh] There is only one way to discover, and that is to come into the room and to discuss it...

[Boya, interrupting] John, I will not agree with that. The only way to the whole solution here, I mean, into the whole problem here, is that the ANC should be unbanned.

[Bishop] Unbanned?

[Boya] Unbanned, yes. And of course, the future of this country should actually be negotiated. And whether it is going to be a one man, one vote, whatever system which is going to be, it should be a system whereby all South Africans should sit around the table together and negotiate.

[Parsons] John, I think that we have agreed that the important thing is, now that we have got a framework, we will (?need) the follow through. I mean, that will be the acid test of the success of what has been said in the last couple of days. But when we talk about future constitutional options, this is a multiple-option country. These options will have to be negotiated, and that means in the end of the day they will have to be compromised. So, although at the moment you naturally... [changes thought] while you are in a prenegotiation phase, there will be some posturing, there will be some rhetoric. The fact is that at the end of the day you will have to sit down, sit around a table, and you will have to hammer out something that will work in South Africa.

[Myburgh] Which is why, it is not, that the statutory council--which is really open-ended, it seems to me--I think is one of the key things in the whole state president's program, and that is, a forum to begin the sort of negotiations we have all...

[Parsons, interrupting] And it is also important if you read the speech carefully, to see that that particular council is set in the context of a transitory body. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

[Steyn] John, may I come in?

[Bishop] Yes, Jan.

[Steyn] I do not have a ...[changes thought] while I recognize the enormous significance of the political rights situation, and how important it is that that should be addressed, the organization that I represent is primarily directed at improving the quality of life of people in a joint endeavor. I want to say again that the opportunities are now there, also for the private business sector in particular, to test themselves against the kind of charter which the state president himself--and the value system, I think, as Raymond called it--he has identified. We cannot just sit back and say that the implementation is the duty of the state alone. Clearly it is, and our function in the private sector is to see to a monitoring process, and to an active program to ensure that the state

lives up to the statements. But please, it is also our duty as citizens and as members of the private sector to ensure that in our business we in fact live up to the standards which we prescribe to the state.

[Boya] It is also the same, too, on our side, as black people. I mean, the time has come up now, the time has come that we actually have to voice out all the things that actually dissatisfy us, so that we should be in a position that the government should actually listen to us much more than what is actually happening at this moment.

[Bishop] Let me throw in a spanner now. What about that white minority that has been rather silent over the last few weeks? I mean, the constituencies not represented by the National Party? Now, they must have many fears, I think, out there. How do you address those? You, Tom, you mentioned mixed education. You said that was your view, that they should have mixed education, so that the children of this country could grow up together into a new future. But do you not accept that there are many many groups in this country who do not feel the same way? Many even nonwhite groups who do not feel the same?

[Boya] It is high time that South African attitudes have got to change. The people of this country, if they want peace in this country, they have to change, and they have got to take it upon themselves that they have to give this a try. And if they do not do this, then we only see disaster.

[Myburgh] Tom, I would like to comment on what...[changes thought] I think that perhaps Tom would agree with me, even, I think, and that is that I think that one should openly [passage indistinct].

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CSO: 3400/1029

SOUTH AFRICA

VILJOEN OUTLINES EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENTS

MB061805 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1725 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] House of Assembly, February 6, SAPA--Equal education opportunities could not be created by integrating schools and a single education department but only by more schools and improved teaching, the minister of education and development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today.

He stated his department's goals and achievements in implementing reform during a speech in the no confidence debate.

Reviewing last year's unrest in black schools he said that out of a possible 90,000 examination candidates, 71,000 had actually sat the exams while 11,000 took special exams. The overall pass rate had increased by three percent over 1984.

The 920 schools subjected to unrest incidents led to the destruction of only 17 out of 7,000 schools of the departments, half of which were destroyed in a single weekend at Duncan Village.

The other schools damaged had mostly been repaired by the financial contributions of parents.

They then dealt with the four ingredients of equalizing education opportunities--financial equalization, improved teacher training, pupil commitment to schooling and upward mobility of black educationalists within the education bureaucracy.

The government's determination to bring about equal opportunities was clearly illustrated by the fact that black education was the fastest growth item on the budget. It had grown from R147 million in 1978/79 to R917 million last year.

"The goal of equal financial appropriation, the fair division of resources between the various communities, will place great pressure on the treasury," Dr Viljoen said. "Improvement of the quality and standard of teacher training is a second important priority."

More than half the departments 45,000 serving teachers were in some form of in-service training while more than 8,000 others were receiving in-service training at Soshanguve College and 11,500, registered for post-matric teachers, were working on their matric qualification under the adult teaching scheme and 13,600 educators were involved in a teacher management course run by experts from the private sector.

"Additional training is being focused on teachers in the senior secondary phase, employing interactive videos, to tackle the high failure rate of matrics."

Similar action was taken to remedy weak pre-school preparedness.

"The improvement of the school's hold on its pupils and the combatting of the early drop-out factor is a third important priority of the department," the minister said.

Apart from remedial programs in the pre-primary and junior primary phases, much success had been achieved in the secondary school phase where numbers had grown from 110,000 to 750,000 in less than a decade. This represented a growth from five percent (of eligible children) to 19 percent.

Full time matric students had grown from 11,000 to 90,000 last year. "This explosion in secondary pupil numbers has placed tremendous pressure on the system's ability to provide adequate education timeously and this has had an unfavorable effect on matric pass rates."

"Special attention is being given to upward mobility and promotion of black educators as well as greater influence for them at high departmental levels." "There are no policy limitations regarding the level to which blacks can rise in the professional or administrative hierarchy."

Special courses at headquarters were run to stimulate and identify suitable candidates and in order to heighten credibility of the department's promotion policy, three blacks had been appointed in each of the two selection committees and seven appointed to the new post of deputy-director in the various regions.

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SOUTH AFRICA

RAJBANSI ON COALITION, FIRST YEAR AS CABINET MINISTER

Durban POST NATAL in English 22-25 Jan 86 p 12

[Interview with Amichand Rajbansi by Michael Robertson; date and place not given: "Here's Why Rajbansi Will Still Support PW Botha in 1986"]

[Text]

Mr Amichand Rajbansi has ended his first year as a Cabinet Minister by forging a coalition with the opposition Solidarity party that seems set to further entrench him as the key figure in the House of Delegates. MICHAEL ROBERTSON spoke to him about the coalition, his first year as a Cabinet Minister, and the forthcoming session in Parliament.

Q What is your overall impression of the House of Delegates in its first year?

A Taking into consideration that this was the first year, a probationary period, our performance was quite good, both in standing committees and debates.

Q What were the highlights of the first year?

A I think the highlights were successes we achieved by using the private members' motion system. Also our performance in the standing committees.

Q Were there any disappointments in the first year?

A I would say the structure of the constitution has been such that we found ourselves in a rather invidious position in respect of changes on major issues. Rather than being the initiator of measures, we dealt with measures that were brought to the House through long-established

channels. We were also hamstrung by the tradition that restricts the number of private members' motions and the general understanding that no private members' motions are discussed after Easter. I feel that in 1986 we should not be bound by these traditions.

Q Not being members of the National Party, how have you and the Reverend Allan Hendrikse been accepted on the Cabinet?

A I don't think the numbers game is important in the Cabinet. I would like to state very clearly that my admiration for the State President grew stronger when I saw him perform behind closed doors. I think the country has only a 20 percent idea of what Mr Botha is really like.

Q If this is true, what is holding him back from introducing more reforms?

A Well, I have knowledge that for a very long time the process

of reform has commenced on a very broad front. I was really amazed, when I attended my first meeting, at the many issues that were being dealt with by the Cabinet, Cabinet committees, and the special Cabinet committee dealing with constitutional affairs. You name it, the Cabinet is dealing with it.

Q Why did you enter into a coalition with Solidarity? With a majority of 15 there would appear to have been no need for it.

A I see the role of the House of Delegates as twofold. The first is to look at parochial matters. The second is that on a national basis it should be a united force for change and against apartheid. I accept that opposition politics is good, but not in the context in which we have been placed, an own affairs chamber ... the entire chamber is in opposition to apartheid and we should speak with one voice. By being divided in 1985 to a large extent we

lost sight of the greater issues facing this country.

Q There has been much speculation about a Ministers' Council shuffle. Will this not cause problems in your own party?

A I don't think so. Most of them accept the principle of the best man for the job. And, we are trying to effect the coalition in such a manner that at the commencement we will try to avoid a shuffle of the Ministers' Council, if it is at all possible.

Q Can we expect an announcement about a replacement for Mr Abramjee soon?

A Well, in terms of a party resolution, Mr SV Naicker and I have still got to see the State President. I think we will see him next week and only after seeing the State President will we really be able to say whether there is really a vacancy or not.

Q If there is, who will choose a replacement?

A The State President in consultation with me.

Q What is the main challenge facing the House of Delegates this year?

A We must take a holder stand on the reform process to include blacks. We must take serious note of the fact that blacks are not interested in any token representation or starting with small structures which to them may be meaningless. I personally believe the State President's utterances recently have been messages of hope and the country has been put on a different constitutional course on the citizenship issue and incorporating homelands that are not prepared to accept independence. I can only foresee South Africa moving towards a federal government. We do not want the creation of structures like city-states, national states, etc, and to look at high-level partici-

pation of blacks at a later stage. The NPP is of the view that in the year 1986 South Africa must see a guideline for all-race participation in government at a very high level.

Q Both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives have been criticised for giving the Government far too easy a ride last year. Do you think this will change?

A Yes, but I still say that if the Press and public knew what we had done in Cabinet and the standing committees, critics and commentators would come to different conclusions.

Q Will there be any controversial legislation this year?

A There is nothing controversial in the pipeline.

Q Getting back to the House of Delegates, it has been said that your over-concentration on parochial matters has resulted in your neglecting issues of national importance. Will this change in the coming session?

A I don't think that criticism is fully justified. We did deal with national issues and got various responses from Cabinet Ministers. And, uh ... of course in 1986 if the coalition gets off the ground we hope to have a new style and new-look House of Delegates. I can assure the community that our performance after our first apprenticeship year will be completely different.

Q What is your position on the declaration of the State of Emergency in parts of the country?

A Well, uh ... I have indicated that in certain areas we believe the imposition of certain measures was necessary. And in certain areas we felt they were not necessary. I mean I have knowledge that, uh, very strong representations were made to the State President to

curb violence ... I have knowledge, I have personal knowledge of those requests.

Q Personal knowledge of requests for what?

A To curb violence, to curb violence.

Q How?

A Well, to curb violence by possible declaration of a state of emergency. The Cape is one good area, you know, where the declaration of a state of emergency changed things dramatically.

Q What is the NPP's position on the use of troops in townships?

A I think it is unfortunate that we are placed in a situation where troops are used. I mean, to curb real lawlessness it would be better to use more members of the police force. In a situation where, uh, you know, where one accepts the police as part of society, as an institution of social control, I think the use of troops is looked on negatively if it is used on a continued basis.

Q To sum up, would you say you don't object to the use of troops occasionally, but you oppose troops being in townships on a long-term basis?

A I think that on a long-term basis it is not a wise thing.

Q What is your position on Indian and coloured conscription?

A We oppose it.

Q What message would you like to convey to PW Botha this year?

A I think there must be a massive sweep against apartheid. A start could be made at school level. If we begin a process of mixing schools it will most certainly result in the creation of a better South Africa. I personally believe apartheid must be outlawed.

Q Who poses a greater threat to South Africa, the National Party on the one hand or the ANC and UDF on the other?

A I think ... I don't think anyone is a greater threat to South Africa ... I think the biggest problem of 1986 ... Is whether we are going to have violence on a mass scale.

Q How does one prevent this from taking place?

A Well, it depends what the objectives of the plotters of the violence are and whether these objectives can be met on a short-term basis. The ANC wants the transfer of power and nothing less, and that is not possible, as this irreconcilable attitude may be the cause of further unrest.

But, if you analyse the South African situation you find there are divided forces and they are powerful - you have the UDF, Azapo, Azaso, Inkatha, trade union movements, all fighting for supremacy. Only Inkatha has proven it has a constituency, while some of the others are just relying on mass emotional support.

Then you have a force which is great in number and might become a reactionary force in all com-

munities against violence. This is emerging very strongly throughout South Africa.

Q What do you mean by "reactionary force against violence"?

A The silent majority.

Q If a silent majority exists, to get back to the original question, what needs to be done to avoid violence?

A I think there must be a broad, united front, accommodating people of various ideologies, with the declared aim of quick, peaceful change. As a strategy they must not abhor the use of the system or extra-Parliamentary methods.

Q What do you think about the talks that have taken place with the ANC?

A Well, uh, it has not changed the ANC. Especially when you examine Oliver Tambo's latest utterances about expanding the area of violence. I don't think the ANC will succeed in South Africa. The historical development, the political divisions, and geography of South Africa will not suit the ANC. I think the battle for South Africa will be won or lost with internal forces.

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SOUTH AFRICA

NEWLY FORMED BUREAU OF INFORMATION COMMENTS ON ROLE OF MEDIA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Jan 86 p 12

[Text]

DURBAN.—The media should not be regarded by the Government as "the enemy" even though it might be opposed to Government policies, a senior member of the newly formed Bureau of Information, Mr David Steward, said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Steward is second-in-command to the overall head of the bureau, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Louis Nel.

A former journalist, Mr Steward has served for 19 years with the Department of Foreign Affairs in various capacities, including that of South African ambassador at the United Nations.

He is on an introductory tour of the country's 11 bureau offices, which began operations in September last year. He took up his position at the beginning of January.

Mr Steward said in an interview that the main function of the bureau was to improve communication between the Government and all sections of the population.

"We are entering a period of heightened dialogue and debate and it is essential that the Government should be able to articulate its policies."

Asked to comment on allegations that one of the bureau's functions might be to act as a mechanism for "propaganda control," Mr Steward said all governments had information departments.

"There is nothing wrong with the Government wanting to communicate its policies effectively," he said.

Of foreign media, which has been blamed for acting as a catalyst for unrest, Mr Steward said he accepted that the foreign media had its interests while the Government had its interests. "If they treat South Africa fairly, we'll treat them fairly," he said.

Representatives of the foreign media were generally "on the level."

It was important for the Government not to regard the media as "the enemy", even though they might be opposed to the policies.

Mr Steward said the bureau would be fully functional only at the beginning of April.

"We are occupied with trying to define problems at the moment."

There are branches of the bureau in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Nelspruit.

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CSO: 3400/1035

SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLISHER URGES UNBANNING OF ANC

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 Jan 86 p 4

Commentary by Hugh Murray, publisher of LEADERSHIP

Text

Hugh Murray, one of the organisers of last year's contact between SA businessmen and the ANC, looks back in the light of the ANC's renewed commitment to violence. Murray is publisher of Leadership, a quarterly journal that covers the political economy

THE ANC decision to extend the "armed struggle" into white areas — or any area of SA for that matter — is indefensible.

How any political movement imagines it can justify the indiscriminate killing and maiming of civilians is beyond me. Yet, I still believe that continued contact with the ANC remains the only way to change the hideous pattern of violence that threatens this country.

This will no doubt surprise those who believe the radical shift in ANC circles towards more violence has caused deep embarrassment and regret among those involved in last year's Zambian meeting with Oliver Tambo and his closest advisers.

I cannot speak for the others who attended, but I personally am deeply dismayed at the ANC's approach to 1986. It is completely contrary to the mood that prevailed earlier.

In a number of private meetings with leading figures in the ANC over the past two years or so, I was given a firm indication that certain influential members of the organisation were looking for ways and means to de-esca-

late the violence and create a suitable climate for their return to SA. There was, they said, reason to talk about it.

Exploratory

And it was against this background that businessmen led by Gavin Relly met the ANC leaders in the Luangwa Valley on September 13 last year.

It is important to note that the ANC did not agree at this meeting to move in the direction private talks had indicated they might.

But it should also be borne in mind that this was to have been purely an exploratory, familiarisation contact. There was no question of negotiation.

The ANC stressed, however, that they had no deliberate plan to move the violence into white areas. They had been misunderstood, they claimed, and any harm to whites would only result from the "overflow" factor.

Thus, the attitude of some that the new policy has discredited the talks is understandable. Moreover, I am sure it has caused a great deal of heart-searching

among those who went to Zambia.

Superficially at least, it may even appear that the contact was a mistake.

If it was "wrong," however, I must add that, given better timing than the present, I am prepared to be "wrong" again.

As everyone who went knew, there were grave risks attached to the visit — not least the justifiable concern about giving the ANC excessive credibility. But I would be surprised if anyone who attended the meeting actively regrets having gone.

Polarised

It was, after all, a genuine attempt at important dialogue, and if anyone feels the participants now have egg on their faces, I would suggest it's high time these detractors accepted that some discomfort and personal disquiet is an inevitable consequence of dealing with such a polarised group as the ANC.

I accept that the more militant approach of the ANC, which most who know the organisation anticipate will build up to an explosive 10th anniversary of June 18, 1976 (Soweto), has made contact with the organisation at the moment almost impossible for most people to consider.

And I am as horrified as anyone over ANC tactics. As recently as December 1985 I had a top ANC official in Lusaka tell me that this year (1986) "the people will put SA to the torch".

Still, I cannot believe that any-

one who tries actively to dissuade the ANC from this course is wrong.

Granted the odds of success at this stage are minuscule. It may not be possible to change their direction, bearing in mind the apparently increased influence of the communists.

Nor do I believe the hardline Marxists will ever shift away from their absurdly rationalised policy of nationalisation of industry and the major financial institutions.

The ANC image now is one of political and economic tyranny and I know few people, black or white, who would support an organisation which sought votes from the masses, in free and fair elections, using such a platform.

What's more, I am reasonably certain that fundamental differences would emerge and many nationalists in the ANC would eventually find the communist direction intolerable.

Unified

Keeping the ANC out of the political marketplace, and its leaders banned or in jail, has caused it to become perhaps the most successful and currently unified political grouping in SA.

For this reason I believe the ANC should be unbanned and subjected to the scrutiny of the people.

Much of its mystique and appeal would dissipate as its leaders sought to compete, warts and all, with the land's other bona fide political representatives.

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SOUTH AFRICA

ONLY 31 PERCENT OPTIMISTIC ON GOVERNMENT'S REFORM PLANS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 Jan 86 p 9

Text

A RECENT Gallup Poll among 1 000 White urban adults shows that only 31 percent expect the Government to introduce the kind of reform which will bring about peace, phase out segregation, restore confidence in the economy and improve the quality of life for Blacks.

The poll, conducted by the Markinor Research Group, presented the people with five scenarios:

● Meaningful reform implemented by a mixed, representative government following a negotiated settlement. Segregation phased out, confidence in the economy restored, unrest eliminated and large scale planning undertaken to improve the quality of life for Blacks;

● Fairly major reforms introduced, but without full consultation with Blacks. Unemployment increases, isolated unrest continues, sanctions remain, and the economy grows only slightly;

● Insignificant reforms give rise to increasing unrest. This is met with a strong armed re-

sponse from the authorities. Polarisation increases and the economy weakens steadily;

● Chaos reigns in the townships, full sanctions are applied, and eventually a government with a Black majority takes over. The recession becomes a depression, but massive State intervention leads to reconstruction and gradually the economy picks up;

● The old order collapses, and South Africa is ruled by a Black majority one-party government, typical of most African states. Democracy and free enterprise give way to socialism.

Found

The survey found that 31 percent of urban Whites expect effective reform and negotiated power sharing, 23 percent reform without consultation, followed by sporadic unrest, 24 percent insignificant reform and increased violence on both sides, 11 percent a collapse followed by eventual reconstruction and six percent a collapse followed by socialist Black majority rule.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FIRST YEAR OF NEW PARLIAMENT EXAMINED, MEMBERS' VIEWS

Durban POST NATAL in English 22-25 Jan 86 p 13

Article by Michael Robertson

Text

THE House of Delegates enters its second year this week.

Most members of the House spent most of their time trading insults last year.

This year, with the coalition between the National People's Party and some members of Solidarity, there have been numerous assurances that things will be different.

But, though the actors may have been shuffled, it seems certain the script, initially, will be the same.

Solidarity's Mr Pat Poovalingam has sworn to fight to the death attempts by his former leader Mr JN Reddy to forge a coalition with the NPP. No doubt, they will trade allegations and accusations with much gusto.

In the meantime, the rest of Parliament will continue with its business.

But even if the Poovalingam-Reddy clash had not been looming on the horizon it is difficult to see the House being anything more than a glorified South African Indian Council with a budget exceeding R500-million.

One of the reasons for this is the members themselves.

Few, if any, have the stature to be national politicians.

Most have graduated through the ranks of local affairs committees and are most comfortable discussing matters that would be best dealt with at a local affairs level, or if they had the opportunity to do so, at city council level.

More importantly, though, is the limitation placed on the

House by the structure of the new constitution.

Apart from matters affecting own affairs, the House cannot initiate legislation. It is therefore confined to reacting to legislation produced almost exclusively by the National Party.

Most of the members' time is spent discussing matters decided upon on an agenda produced by the NP rather than by themselves.

One way in which they attempted to get around this last year was by making use of private members' motions.

In the first session in the House there was a flurry of motions dealing with matters as diverse as the death of Steve Biko and the second access road to Chatsworth.

The problem with private members' motions, however, is that they are generally not voted on and at best all they elicit are assurances from Ministers rather than the concrete action contained in Bills.

Another opportunity for members to get to grips with issues of national importance is the budget debate.

But here, MPs in the House of Delegates fared dismally in their first session.

One of the most important budget debates is the State President's vote, when they have an opportunity to debate with President PW Botha himself.

Having stated they had entered Parliament to use the system to dismantle apartheid one

would have expected members in the House to use this opportunity to attack the NP's policies.

Instead, they almost fell over each other in their rush to sing President Botha's praises.

Mr Boetie Abramjee, then Minister of the Budget, called him a "leader who has shown unprecedented vision".

Mr SV Naicker, the leader of the House, called him "South Africa's foremost statesman".

Mr Poovalingam said: "He is the first President in the history of South Africa who is a president of all the people."

Not surprisingly President Botha remarked: "At some moments this afternoon I almost felt as if I was sitting in my own party caucus."

With these words the Presi-

dent handed the kiss of death to anyone in the House wishing to be seen as a fervent opponent of apartheid.

House of Delegates members have no doubt learnt from mistakes they made in their first session.

But, given their past performance and the constraints within which they have to work, there is little evidence that they will be able to live up to their promise of "using the system to dismantle apartheid".

Rather, it seems more likely that they will be obliged, by the Government and their own limitations, to concentrate on parochial matters, ensuring once again that the House of Delegates will be a sideshow of South African politics.

Objectives Are the Same

SOLIDARITY leader Mr JN Reddy hopes that in the coming session in Parliament all the reform measures announced by the State President and various Ministers will be translated into legislation.

Mr Reddy spent his first year in Parliament as the leader of the Opposition.

This year, he will almost certainly be appointed to the Indian Council of Ministers after forging a coalition with the National People's Party.

He said he entered into the coalition because "far too much time" had been wasted last year on personality clashes.

"I am satisfied there is no difference between the objectives of Solidarity and the NPP, except that our approach has differed on some issues.

"We entered Parliament with the stated intention of using the system to dismantle apartheid. To date we have wasted too much time on personality clashes on issues that were not of national importance."

He rejects allegations that the coalition was brought about at the instigation of the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, or that he and other Solidarity members were merely interested in Ministerial posts.

According to him, he and other Solidarity MPs who have been tipped for Ministerial posts could earn more than the highest paid politician if they resigned and concentrated on their business concerns.

Mr Reddy acknowledges that the bitter clashes between Solidarity and the NPP in the House last year had created some ill feeling between members of both parties, but he is sure these can be overcome.

On policy issues over which the parties have differed, he hopes some kind of consensus can be reached.

One of these is the declaration of the State of Emergency in some parts of the country which the NPP has supported and Solidarity has

opposed.

"Obviously we have had differences over matters like the State of Emergency and detentions, but we need to sit down and reach consensus on these matters."

"Another matter on which we have differed is the Regional Services Councils which we opposed because they entrenched group areas."

"We are hoping to see some changes made to this legislation which will take into account our objections."

Turning to the coming session of Parliament, Mr Reddy said the Government must introduce legislation to implement all the reforms it had promised.

"Black people are no longer interested in promises. They and the world at large want action now."

He said his message for President PW Botha for the coming year was that he should set into

motion the constitutional machinery to facilitate South Africans of all political persuasions coming together to work out a political dispensation that would satisfy every segment of society.

"I realise that bringing people together to talk about a new political dispensation is not an easy task, but there is hope when both the United States and the Commonwealth offer the services of eminent persons. I hope these people will be able to bridge the divide between the different groups and bring them to the negotiating table."

As far as the House of Delegates was concerned, he said that in the past year it had concentrated on parochial issues because they needed to be dealt with.

"In the coming year we can't afford to concentrate all our efforts on parochial issues. National issues must receive equal if not greater priority."

Oppose and Expose

PAT Poovalingam spent his first year in the House of Delegates sitting in the Opposition front benches next to Solidarity leader JN Reddy.

This year Poovalingam will be in the same benches. Reddy will not.

Not surprisingly, Poovalingam's views of the coming year in the House of Delegates are clouded by the coalition forged by Reddy and Amichand Rajbansi.

The coalition between Solidarity and the National People's Party was brought about at the instigation of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, according to Mr Pat Poovalingam.

Mr Poovalingam, MP (S Reservoir Hills) maintains Mr Heunis wants a tame House of Delegates and therefore initiated the coalition talks.

The former Solidarity chairman says he has no intention of letting this happen.

"If JN Reddy wants a Cabinet post he should enter into that arrangement in his own capacity. If he tries to drag Solidarity with him then he and I are going to have a very bruising fight."

Mr Poovalingam, however, recognises a battle between him and Mr Reddy could well result in a repeat of last year's performance of the House of Delegates, when more time was spent airing personal animosities than in dealing with issues of national importance.

So, he has set as a goal for himself and the three other Solidarity MPs who oppose coalition the task of "being an alert opposition which will continue to expose all the defects in the apartheid policy of the National Party and its junior partners".

The Government, he said, wanted the House of Delegates to focus primarily on the interests of the Indian community.

"By concentrating on ethnic interests the House of Delegates will be playing into the Government's hands."

Mr Poovalingam said what he would like to see most of all in the coming session of Parliament was a declaration by President PW Botha that the abhorrent policy of apartheid would be dismantled with "all due speed".

He said one of the big drawbacks of the coalition was that Mr Reddy would not be moving a motion of no-confidence in the Government and the Indian Council of Ministers.

Nevertheless, Mr Poovalingam has given notice that he will move a motion of no confidence in the Government when Parliament opens.

He would concentrate on issues like the State of Emergency and the treatment of Mrs Winnie Mandela when attacking the Government.

Controversial issues he expected to come before Parliament included the issuing of "apartheid examination certificates" and a move to make cities like Soweto city-

states while including homelands in some kind of South African federation on a tribal basis.

He also felt, depending on the outcome of an appeal against a Natal judge's ruling that the detention of Diankon director Paddy Kearney was unlawful, a move to amend Section 29 of the Internal Security Act might be made.

Despite being reduced to only four members in opposition, Mr Poovalingam believes they will be able to make a better contribution than last year.

"Last year we had a number of restraints placed on us by people in Solidarity. This year, those people will be on the Government side.

"The UDF was right in respect of the majority of people in the House of Delegates when it said they were going in for personal and sectional interests.

"But it was not right in respect of the minority.

"We have got to hang in there to make it impossible for all in the House of Delegates to become 'Ja Baas' Government supporters."

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SOUTH AFRICA

ANC'S OVERTURES TO POTENTIAL PARTNERS IN 'ALLIANCE' VIEWED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Jan 86 p 6

Commentary by Ken Owen: "To the ANC, 'Big Capital' in SA is Part of the 'Enemy Forces'"

Text **T**HE AIR is filled with talk — despite the efforts of Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to suppress it — of an "alliance" to be led by the African National Congress. So we might as well try to ascertain what it means.

Le Grange, having permitted some reporting of Oliver Tambo's recent statements, now says that he didn't intend to approve more than one South African Press Association report, and he has warned that further disclosures of the truth will be punishable.

This hampers debate, but does not kill it.

One can safely say that the ANC has indeed addressed itself to a variety of groups, among them the trade unions and the mineworkers, the white business community, white conscripts and all white opponents of apartheid.

One can say, too, that the tone of its comments was ingratiating. Tambo's words on this subject can no longer be quoted. But, fortunately, we have available from an expert on the inner workings of the ANC an explanation of what the organisation is trying to achieve by wooing non-ANC members.

The expert is Howard Barrell, whose views have been reported

in an excellent publication called "Work in Progress".

Since Le Grange will not let the ANC speak for itself, let me say that Barrell's account of ANC thinking accords precisely with my own understanding of Tambo's recent comments.

Barrell says five principles underlie the ANC's overtures to various potential partners in an "alliance".

The first is "the need to build maximum unity between all sections and formations of the oppressed, other democrats and progressives and, quite literally, to bring these forces, equipped and prepared as well as possible, 'to the battle-front'."

The second is to win over to its basic outlook as many whites as possible and thereby "to isolate politically the die-hard defenders of what it sees as a racist and exploitative state power".

The third principle stated by Barrell is that a revolutionary organisation does not go to war in order to hold talks; but the fourth principle is that it must always be willing to talk in order to re-

duce the suffering of the people in achieving state power.

Underlying this fourth principle, says Barrell, is the insistence that "talks of any kind should never be allowed to demobilise the liberation movement's forces" unless an explicit ceasefire occurs.

The fifth principle is that the ANC will not allow talks with the government to remain secret from its members — including, presumably, all the people whom the ANC claims as supporters within SA.

In the light of these principles, Barrell puts on the meetings between the ANC and the SA business community an interpretation quite different from those usually heard in SA.

The ANC, he says, has determined that "big capital" (like most of the Left, he takes an anthropomorphic view of capital) is part of the "enemy forces".

He speculates that the ANC could, by nationalising the Anglo American Corporation, Barlow Rand and Sanlam, gain control of 75% of the economy, and that it would allow smaller businesses to continue in a mixed economy beneath these "commanding heights".

He observes, however, that the SA Communist Party (which provides about half the ANC executive) has a more ambitious programme of nationalisation.

Referring to the recent ANC meeting with a business delegation led by Gavin Relly, of the Anglo American Corporation, Barrell says:

"These relatively enlightened sections of the business community appear to recognise that SA is moving towards a scale and kind of struggle which could result in a successful quasi-Bolshevik insurrection, rather than a traditional black nationalist takeover."

It is sensible to conclude that one of capital's intentions at the meeting was to establish the potential for, in one or other sense, 'buying out' some portion of the ANC leadership or exercising the 'Lonrho option'.

"The latter is a political insurance policy, paid for by favours to the liberation movement or selected members of its leadership during the period of struggle..."

"Capital's prospects of succeeding with this tactic in the

case of the ANC look very dim indeed."

Barrell says the nature of the talks between SA business and the ANC in Zambia indicated a "deep concern that (President P W) Botha is incapable of delivering timeous options that can safeguard capital".

For the ANC, says Barrell, the issue is the transfer of power to the people, to smash or dismantle apartheid totally. "The issue is not a national convention."

The talks with big business leaders or other non-governmental elements "from the white bloc" are part of the "thrust to isolate politically the Botha government".

The struggle is between "Botha and the ANC," Barrell writes, quoting an unnamed ANC source as saying: "There is no middle road."

Those are almost precisely the words used by another expert on the ANC, Tom Lodge, who told an audience at Wits late last year: "There is no middle ground."

The prospect for negotiations between the ANC and the government are, understandably, even bleaker. Barrell says a whole range of preconditions apply.

The only subject on the agenda would be the "modality for the transfer of power" and this transfer would demand a change (unspecified) in the character of the army and the police.

The ANC would not discuss reform. "The central precondition is that such talks must be premised on an agreement among participants that the objective of the talks is to totally dismantle apartheid and to arrive at a modality for a united, democratic and non-racial country."

F

or reforms, whether to the Separate Amenities Act or the Group Areas Act or the pass laws, the ANC has only scorn.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the ANC opposes any amelioration of apartheid that might reduce the ferocity of the revolutionary struggle into which it is now trying to draw prospective allies.

None of this implies that nobody should talk to the ANC; but it is as well to recognise what the ANC wants to talk about.

The middle ground offers no place to hide.

SOUTH AFRICA

RESERVE BANK CHIEF INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMY

MB051001 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Interview with Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock by Gerry Schuytema on the "Network" program; introduced by Michelle Alexander--live]

[Text] [Alexander] South Africans have been heartened by the recent firming and increase in the value of the rand. Dr Gerhard de Kock analyzes the economic situation with our guest interviewer, Gerry Schuytema.

[Schuytema] Thank you, Michelle, Dr de Kock, today the rand reached its highest since the debt standstill, yet gold dropped to below \$340 an ounce in a [words indistinct]. This would seem as if the reserve bank is in fact manipulating the rand up. Is this, true, or what is behind the rand?

[de Kock] No, the state president's speech on Friday did it all. It improved perception overseas to such an extent that the rand not only moved up, despite the fall in the dollar price of gold of the past 2 days, but the reserve bank actually found that it was acquiring substantial amounts of additional dollar reserves. So, we have a double whammy, so to speak. The rand has moved up, and the gold and foreign exchange reserves increased.

[Schuytema] So you actually bought dollars, which would imply that if you did not do that, the rand would have increased even further?

[de Kock] Yes, the rand could have gone up even further if we had not steadied it. But, as you know, we have a policy of managing the floating. By that I mean that we buy in dollars when we have to, and we sell dollars when we have to steady the rate. And over the past 2 days we have been picking up dollars.

[Schuytema] Would the impact of the state president's speech have been that profound, because initially one saw in the markets a fairly lukewarm if possibly disinterested attitude to the speech?

[de Kock] Well, the speech was delivered on Friday, and that same afternoon the financial rand already moved up very quickly. The commercial rand started

moving up on Monday morning and continued moving up today to this very high level of 45 cents and more, compared with 35 cents in late August.

[Schuytema] You have obviously acquired a lot of dollars and are probably holding onto these dollars. Does that mean that you can protect the rand all the time in the future?

[de Kock] In order to intervene effectively to steady the rand, to prevent undue fluctuation in it, the reserve bank obviously needs [word indistinct]. It needs dollars. Our predicament in the months August to December was that we did not always have adequate dollars to sell in the market in order to bolster the rand. Since the middle of December, things have gone much better, and with our current account surplus now running at an annualized rate of 11 billion rand, in the fourth quarter of 1985--in the calendar year, this figure will be 7 billion rand, but for the fourth quarter, 11 billion rand annual rates--well, that has helped us a great deal. The gold price has moved up, good rainfall has certainly improved agricultural prospects generally and also the mere passage of time has served, I think, to improve overseas perceptions of our political and economic situation.

[Schuytema] Have the lead-and-lag situation, or the speculation against the rand, has that now been taken out?

[de Kock] Yes. We found that from about the middle of December onwards, the leads-and-lags began to peter out. Importers, for example, who had for some time been, in fact, paying twice--that is, paying off the old credit on old imports, while at the same time putting up from cash payments for new imports--that worked itself out. Not completely, but it has worked out to a large extent, and even if the leads-and-lags are not reversed, if they just seem to operate in the wrong direction then, given the current account surplus, the rand is bound to appreciate.

[Schuytema] Doctor, I would like to talk to you about gold. Some weeks back, when gold was at \$380, you did sound a note of caution, and most of us thought, well, this is the reserve bank, this is a central banker speaking, and they are by their nature cautious. Yet, now, today gold is below \$340. For all of that, there is a perception among dealers abroad that gold is in fact setting a new turn, that this market is different, from the 2 or 3 years sideways-to-downward drift that we have had. Would you go with that?

[de Kock] Yes. One senses that. I think the chances are good that the gold price will tend to move up in the rest of 1986. But one never knows for sure, and for that reason we are certainly not basing our monetary and fiscal policies on the assumption that the gold price will move up. We are basing it on the assumption that the gold price will be around, say, \$320 average for this year. If it is higher, well, that is bonanza.

[Schuytema] The bonanza would be reflected, as you mentioned earlier, possibly in the balance of payments. Now, the balance of payments and that record surplus that would tend to show billions of dollars and foreign currency flowing into the country--what is the benefit of that for us? What is actually happening? Does that mean that we are living within our means? Does it mean, in fact, that we are in fact earning a lot more than what we are spending?

[de Kock] Yes. We are exporting very much more than the sum total of our imports. This enables us to pay all the interest and dividend payments due to overseas residents with the greatest of ease, and after doing all of that, we are still running a current account surplus at an annual rate of 11 billion rands, which, by the way, is about 9 percent of the gross domestic product, which really is quite enormous. Now, that, reflects great underlying balance of payments strength. The problem is that this surplus has had to be used during the past year to finance repayments of foreign debts, outflow of capital in general, unfavorable, leads-and-lags in foreign payments. That is, now, hopefully coming to an end, or at least reducing in magnitude, with the immediate effect that the rand is strengthening, and that our official gold and foreign reserves are rising.

[Schuytema] We are linked with the state president's speech and with what he has been saying is, of course, Dr Leutwiler's position now as mediator [sentence as heard]. Is his mediating easier? Do you think he is going to find it easier to talk to foreign banks?

[de Kock] Much easier, much easier. He can now talk from a position of strength. He has a country with a current account surplus, 9 percent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product] and the political improvement envisaged. Now his position is much stronger.

[Schuytema] A final sort of aspect of our discussion would be information. I think that there are definite fears, real fears in South Africa that we cannot afford any (?growth), that inflation is in fact running away with us. What are your comments?

[de Kock] We are deeply concerned about the high rate of inflation--19 percent is just too high for South Africa and this rate might accelerate further in the next 2 or 3 months before it starts its downward movement, but one must look at the causes of this inflation. Now normally in South Africa, as I would imagine in most other countries, inflation is caused by over spending, by too much money taking too few goods. Monetary and fiscal policies are generally too lax and too permissive, and that is why you have inflation and that is also why you have currency depreciation then in the foreign exchange markets. And we have had enough of that over the past 25 years, but the present inflation is the exception that proves the rule. In this case we obviously don't have too much money chasing too few goods. The economy has been in a recession until the 3rd or 4th quarters of last year. It is only now beginning to move into a new upward

cycle, but the depreciation of the rand--after July when it went down from about 50 cents to 35 to 38 American cents and stayed there for quite a while--that was a substantial depreciation that has brought about a higher petrol price, higher electricity tariffs, higher railway rates and this of course has a cost-push effect on prices. But now this is going to come to an end. The rand is no longer depreciating. It has, in fact, appreciated by about 18 percent on the average since the middle of December and by about 20 percent against the dollar. This means that in due course that particular cause of inflation will disappear. In the meantime, excess demand will be eliminated. We are living within our means as you say, and provided we maintain control over the money supply and government spending, then there is no reason why the rate of inflation should not decline substantially later this year and into 1987.

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SOUTH AFRICA

DE KOCK SPEAKS AT INVESTMENT CONFERENCE

MB041759 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1135 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Feb 4, SAPA--As the full implications of the policy announcement last Friday by the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, come to be appreciated, the new domestic upswing that appears to have started during the fourth quarter of 1985 should gain considerable momentum, the governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, said today.

Given the policy announcement, the recent recovery in the dollar price of gold, the improvement in the agricultural outlook as a result of good rains and the marked decline in short-term interest rates since April 1985, the expectation of a real growth rate of 3 percent or higher in 1986 was now more soundly based than ever, Dr de Kock told the Ninth Annual Investment Conference of Frankel, Kruger Inc. in Johannesburg.

Addressing the conference on the topic of "Interest Rates in 1986," Dr de Kock said the current balance of payments had grown to a "staggering annualized rate of about R11 billion--equal to 9 percent of gross domestic product--during the fourth quarter of 1985."

This brought the actual surplus for calendar 1985 as a whole to nearly R7 billion.

He said the "historic reformist address" delivered by Mr Botha last Friday at the opening of parliament had opened the way for more rapid growth in the overall economic situation and prospects in South Africa.

"As the policies outlined in that speech are implemented in the months ahead they should bring about a marked improvement in overseas perceptions of South Africa's socio-political and economic prospects." "This in turn should greatly ease the pressure on the capital account of the balance of payments and facilitate the debt negotiations currently in process," he said.

The anticipated improvement in the capital account was likely to lead to a further appreciation of the rand in the foreign exchange market and a rise in the gold and foreign exchange reserves, he said.

He said 1986 seemed set "to be a year of rising income, output, trade and employment" "The time for another prepare to meet thy boom statement may not be far off."

Since 1980 the South African economy had been buffeted by a number of unfavorable exogenous developments, including the marked decline in the dollar price of gold from its 1980 average of 613 dollars per ounce, the extreme volatility of international exchange rates and the severe droughts of recent years.

Particularly since July 1985 there had been a marked deterioration in overseas perceptions of South Africa's prospects following the adverse publicity given to the social unrest, the state of emergency and the intensified threats of sanctions, Dr de Kock said.

"Inevitably these external developments have had serious destabilizing and generally adverse effects on the economy." "To minimize these effects and to assist the economy to adjust to the changed circumstances, the monetary authorities have made extensive use of market-oriented monetary policy designed to control the growth of the money supply and aggregate demand."

"Interest rates have accordingly been allowed and encouraged to move to realistic levels as determined jointly by natural market forces and Reserve Bank policy measures."

The fluctuations in interest rates constituted an integral and essential part of monetary stabilization policy and served their purpose well, Dr de Kock said.

He said the Reserve Bank had in recent years moved towards adopting target rates of growth for the money supply--the practice followed in most reasonably developed countries.

Although the Reserve Bank had not yet announced any specific monetary targets, "with details regarding money supply definitions, base dates, target periods and so on," it had been following a policy of controlling the rate of increase of the money supply.

However, this did not mean the bank had adopted a rigid and overriding money rule that implied leaving interest rates and exchange rates completely free to find their own levels at all times.

"Monetary targeting, in the Reserve Bank's view, should be applied with a fair measure of flexibility and with a low profile, as is, in fact, done in most industrial and other reasonably developed countries."

In South Africa's well-developed financial system any policy of controlling the money supply and monetary demand can be effective only if realistic, market-related and appropriately aligned interest rates can be obtained in the various financial markets, the governor said.

In accordance with its policy principles, the Reserve Bank had since April last year reduced its bank rate nine times, from 21.75 to 12 percent. This had helped to bring the commercial banks prime overdraft rate down from 25 to 15.5 percent.

"The question has been posed whether this policy of reducing short-term interest rates has not been overdone." "How can the Reserve Bank take the lead in reducing short-term interest rates when the rate of inflation is over 18 percent, when South Africa has a debt standstill and when the exchange rate of the rand is still relatively weak?"

"The answer is that the recent acceleration of the rate of price increases is the exception that proves the rule." "In this case we are not dealing with too much money chasing too few goods."

Dr de Kock said excess demand was eliminated by the middle of 1985 "and has not raised its ugly head again." "Although the economy is now probably in the early stages of a new upswing, it is moving from a low base and is still characterized by relatively low activity, surplus capacity, unemployment and declining real fixed investment." "It is therefore official policy to encourage investment and consumer spending with a view to utilizing the existing surplus capacity and raising production, employment and the rate of real economic growth." "And it is in accordance with this short-term strategy that short-term interest rates have been guided downwards by the Reserve Bank as an integral part of its policy of providing for increases in the money supply that are adequate to permit the desired increase in spending and production, but not so large as to contribute to new demand inflation."

He said the recent acceleration of the 12-month inflation rate was caused by the new depreciation of the rand after July last year from about 50 U.S. cents to 35-38 U.S. cents from August to December last year.

This depreciation was caused mainly by the withdrawal of foreign bank credits and an outflow of capital in other forms as a result of the "marked deterioration of overseas perceptions of South Africa's socio-political situation that occurred at that time."

"(American banks) withdrew their credits because of political fears and considerations, thus forcing South Africa into what has been described as the weirdest debt standstill in history--weird because according to all the internationally-accepted criteria, South Africa never over-borrowed, never failed to meet its foreign interest and dividend payments, and was running a very large and steadily increasing current account surplus," Dr de Kock said.

"This depreciation inevitably raised the cost of fuel and other imported goods and exerted cost-push pressure on the price level."

"In such abnormal circumstances" the Reserve Bank felt a further tightening of monetary policy would contribute little to removing the underlying causes of the currency depreciation and inflation, "which were of a political rather than an economic nature."

"The present stance of monetary policy, however, in no way implies any weakening of the resolve of the monetary authorities to curb inflation."

The governor said it was probable the inflation rate would accelerate further before it began declining.

However, with the rand showing an effective appreciation against other currencies, the cost-push effects of the earlier depreciation should begin to peter out before too long, he said.

"And if the monetary authorities succeed in their endeavor to prevent the re-emergence of excessive money creation and spending in the months ahead, there is every reason to expect the rate of inflation to decline later in 1986 and into 1987."

He could not rule out a further decline in interest rates in 1986, particularly if the money growth rate remained around its present low level.

However, if following Mr Botha's speech the new upswing were to gain momentum faster than expected, short-term interest rates might well tend to edge up again later this year, or in 1987, Dr de Kock said.

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